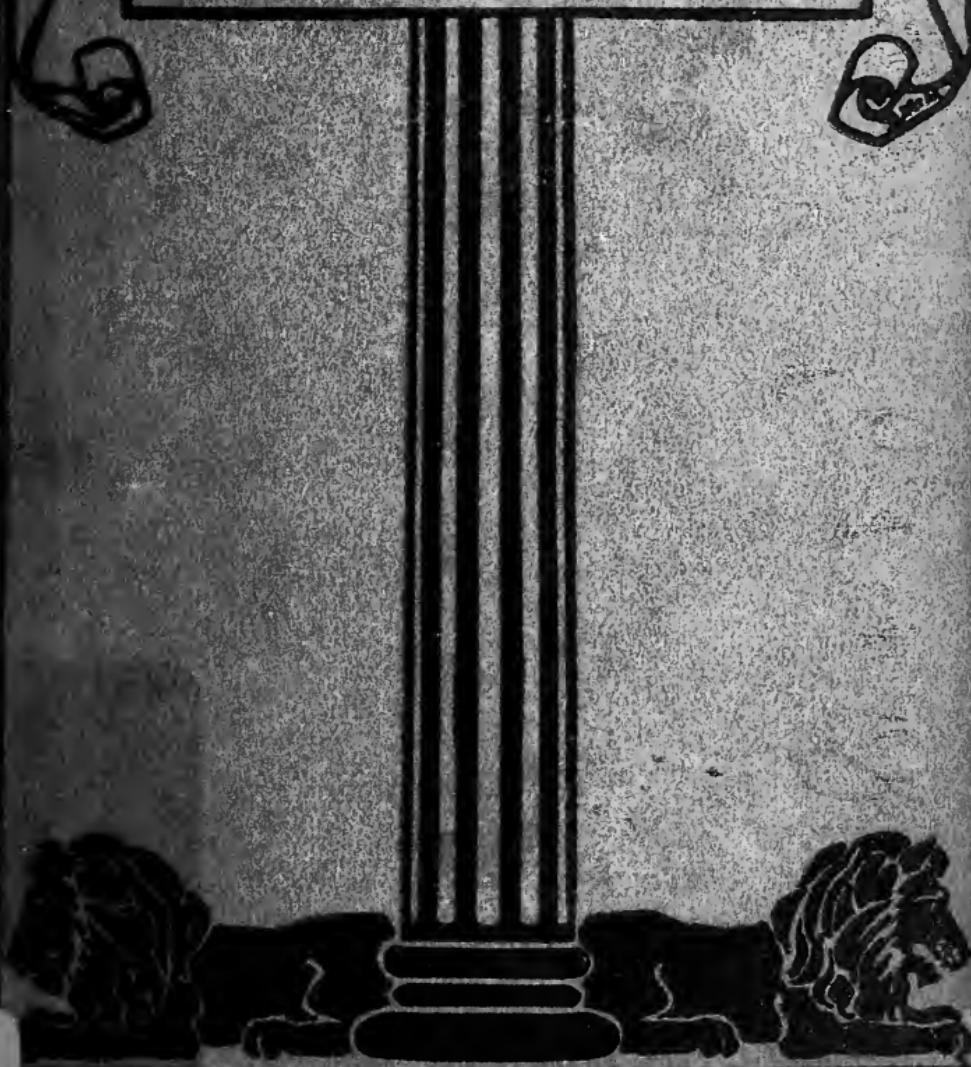


HISTORY  
OF



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THE

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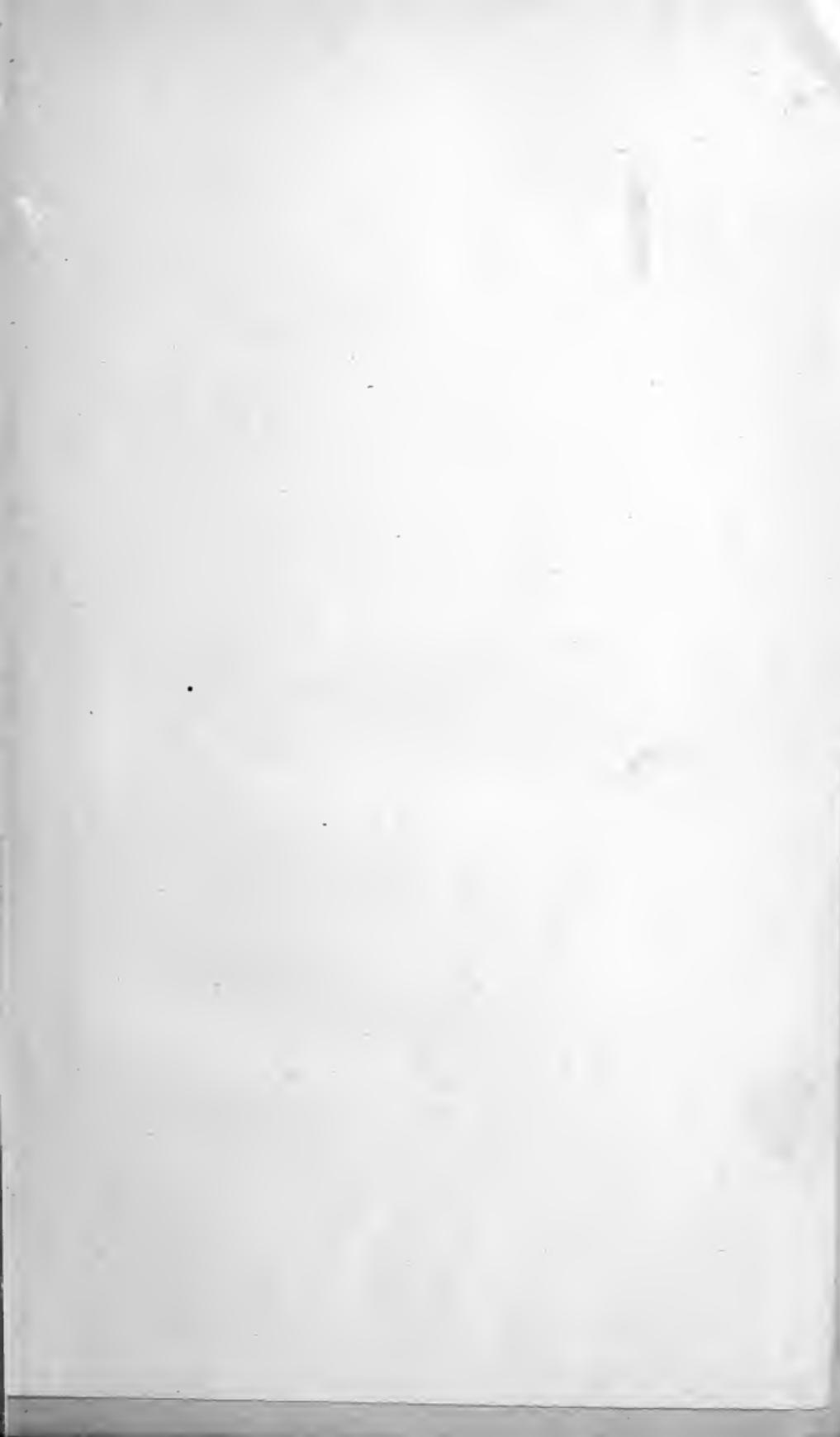
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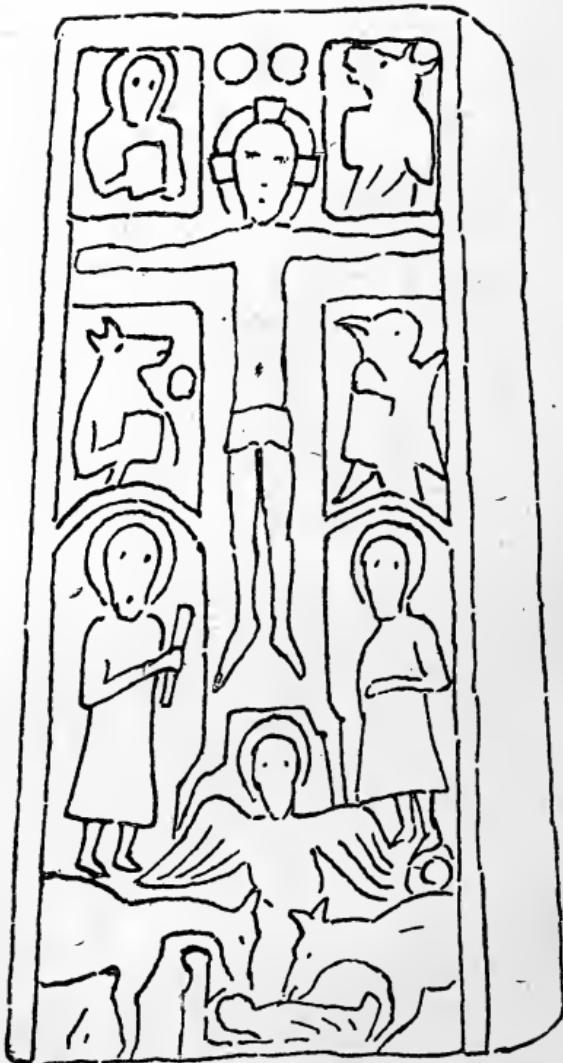
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NATIVITY AND CRUCIFIXION ON SAXON CROSS,  
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History

of

# Art in the British Isles

BY

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## P R E F A C E

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THIS little book makes no pretence to add to the knowledge of the student, or to throw any new light on any single subject. It is addressed to those who, having made little or no study of art and its history, may be glad to know, not with any idea of practising art, or even of devoting much time to its study, the part it has played in the history of their country, and to form, as part of the equipment of a good citizen, some estimate of the place it ought to take in any civilisation worthy the name. The kind of information given in the book is dictated in part by the writer's experience of what University Extension and other audiences, fresh to the consideration of art, find interesting and readily assimilate. To arouse an interest in art generally, and in our own art in particular, is the aim, then, of the following pages; and those who, after reading them, may desire more detailed and extended knowledge, will find what they require in such books as those named at the end of the volume.

J. E. P.

HOLMES CHAPEL, CHESHIRE,  
*December, 1900.*



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THE  
STORY OF ART IN THE  
BRITISH ISLES

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CHAPTER I  
PREHISTORIC ART

THE earliest traces of art in the British Isles date from the incalculably remote ages when the North and Irish Seas and the English Channel had not yet been formed, and the islands we inhabit to-day were merely a part of the great continent. Both these earliest traces, and the later examples of prehistoric art that have been found, are interesting, not only in themselves, but for what they foreshadow of the subsequent history of art and for the influence they exerted upon it. We need only mark in outline, however, the main facts of the prehistoric ages, and of their connection with later times, which have been treated with more detail than is required here in Mr. Clodd's "The Story of Primitive Man," one of the volumes of this series already issued.

Man only appears at a late period of geological time. But, none the less, we can make no count in centuries or millenniums of the remoteness of his earliest day. When first we find him he is a "tool-using animal"; and as his tools and weapons consisted only of roughly-chipped flints and pieces of horn and bone, whereas the implements of a later but still prehistoric age were more finely wrought, the days of man's first appearance have been called the palæolithic, or old stone, age. In this period of his history, man is a wandering hunter at a very low stage of culture. What rude shelter he may have made for himself, besides finding a refuge in cave and forest, we do not know. But the old stone age has not passed away before his artistic power has developed; for, scratched on bone and ivory, we find representations of animals of some of which a modern draughtsman need not be ashamed.

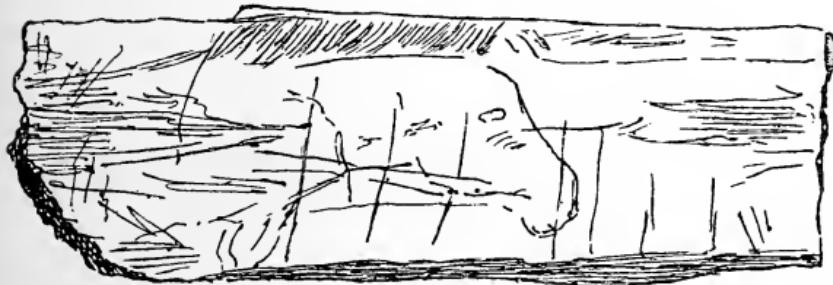
The earliest known example in these islands of this imitation of animal form was found in the Robin Hood Cave, in the Cresswell Crags, on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. It consists of a fragment of rib on which have been incised the head and shoulders of a horse with upright, or hog, mane.

Such implements as daggers made of reindeer antlers were beautifully carved in animal form; necklaces of shells, bone, and ivory show a love of ornament; and man had most probably learned to clothe himself in the skins and furs of beasts.

So early, then, in man's history and in our own land, but under geographical conditions widely different from those of to-day, we see, in ele-

mentary forms of engraving and sculpture, the birth both of imitative art and of the decorative art that consists in some orderly arrangement of form or object to which our sense of beauty responds. The engraving had to do duty also for the painting of later ages ; while for the beginnings of architecture we must wait until the next period of man's history.

This period, because of the superiority of its stone implements already referred to, has been called the neolithic, or new stone, age, the tools



Horse from the Creswell Crags.

and weapons now used being more varied in form, better made, and polished. Our islands were by this time divided from the mainland and had taken very much their present shape. Of the duration of this period, no more than of the earlier one, can we frame any estimate. In Northern Europe generally, and, of course, in these islands, it lasted until a much later time than in other parts of the world. Egypt and Assyria were already highly civilised communities, and had transmitted something of their civilisation to Greece and Italy, while our northern regions remained in the earlier

condition of culture. And the influence of these more forward civilisations on the less forward ones is but the earliest traceable example of a constant feature of the history of human progress, and in particular, as we shall see hereafter, of the history of art.

We have abundant evidence that in this period, while still inhabiting caves and rock-shelters, man also built for himself dwelling-places. Pits were dug in the ground, and roofed with interlaced sticks coated with imperfectly burned clay ; and in Ireland, preserved in the bog, log huts, two storeys in height, have been found. And whereas there is no evidence that palaeolithic man, any more than the Eskimaux who closely resemble him, had buried his dead, the neolithic tribes of Britain not only buried their dead in caves, but erected for them tombs consisting of long oval or circular barrows or cairns, the more important of which contain a chamber, built of slabs of stone set on edge, with a narrow passage leading into it. These barrows were made in imitation of the abodes of the living ; for the spirit was believed to remain with the body in the tomb, to which in time all the members of the family or clan would be gathered, and where they would live a life similar to that which they had enjoyed above-ground. The barrows were decorated with spirals and concentric circles cut in the stone—the beginning of the use of sculpture in connection with architecture.

In this age, then, we first find the dwelling-house and the tomb, which play such an important part throughout the history of architecture. An-

other important type of building, the temple, does not appear until the next period of man's development.

Although in the art of building, as well as in mining, pottery-making, spinning, and weaving, the neolithic man was far in advance of his predecessors, he appears to have been behind them in the arts of graphic imitation and design. He has left us no such imitations of plant and animal form as did the men of the earlier time. And history furnishes many similar instances of a different rate of progress in the arts, or even of decline in one or another art, united with a general development in art and civilisation.

Hitherto we have found mankind making use of stone implements only. An enormous stride in the advance of civilisation and of the arts is made with the beginning of the use of the metals, of which bronze was the first to come into general use; and to the palæolithic and neolithic ages succeeds, therefore, the age of bronze, which, before its close, brings us into the historic period.

The use of this metal began in the earlier civilisations of the East and South already referred to, and was by them communicated to the West and North. Its advent into Britain accompanied the advent of an invading and conquering race, the Celts, whose better weapons enabled them to overcome the old inhabitants, and either to enslave them or to drive them into the westernmost parts of the islands. In every respect the bronze age is an advance on its predecessors. The dwelling-houses, though much the same in character as those of the neolithic age, were probably larger

and better built, and stone was used in their construction. They were grouped together and surrounded by a defensive breastwork of earth—the beginnings of military architecture. Frequently, and also for purposes of defence, they were built on piles driven into morass or lake-bottom, a custom still practised in the Malay Archipelago, Central Africa, and other parts of the world. Barrows of stone and earth were used for the disposal of the dead, as in the preceding age; but cremation was now in use as well as burial, the ashes being deposited in an earthen jar or urn.

But the chief advance in architecture is the beginning of the temple as distinguished from, or allied with, the tomb. Ancestor worship occupied a large place in primitive religion, and the tomb where, as we have seen, the dead were believed to dwell was therefore in part a temple. But in the bronze age we find for the first time structures that form no necessary part of the tomb itself, and which seem to show that a distinction between tomb and temple has arisen.

The most important examples of these temples in Britain are the great stone circles of Avebury and Stonehenge, in Wiltshire. Avebury is the earlier of the two, and belongs probably to the end of the neolithic, or the beginning of the bronze, age. It consisted of a circle of unworked upright stones, twelve hundred feet in diameter, surrounded by a fosse, and the whole enclosed in an earthen rampart. Within the circle of large stones were two sets of concentric circles of smaller stones, and avenues of stone led up to two entrances through the rampart. The neighbourhood of large

barrows suggests the close relation of this primitive temple to the tomb.

Stonehenge, also in close proximity to a large number of barrows, shows an advance on Avebury in the working of the stones and in the laying of horizontal stones along the upright ones in the outer circles and along an inner horse-shoe arrangement of large stones, thus forming an architrave or narrow roof.

It is impossible not to see in these vast monu-



Stonehenge.

ments a rude resemblance to the tombs and temples of Egypt; which are, indeed, but the same thing in a more highly developed form, where the cairn has become the pyramid; the unhewn pillar-stone, the obelisk; and the stone circles and avenues, the temples and sphinx-avenues of Edfoo and Luxor. And in a course of undisturbed development these rude tombs and temples might have been succeeded by others not unlike those of Egypt; but the Roman invasion had to come and almost wholly to break the continuity of

growth by abruptly introducing a civilisation and art which were many centuries later than those of Egypt, and even than those of Greece.

A sudden gap has cut us off from close association with Avebury and Stonehenge, but still they are deeply interesting to us; for, as Boyd Dawkins says: "These two great temples of an unknown worship represent the Canterbury Cathedral or Westminster Abbey of the period, while the smaller circles to be found scattered over the moors and hilltops in the South of England, in Wales and Cumberland, as well as in Scotland, are to be looked upon as the parish churches and chapels of ease." And, discussing the purpose to which they were put, he continues: "It has been urged by Mr. Fergusson, in his interesting work on Rude Stone Monuments, that these circles are merely tombs. Even if we allow that they originally were tombs in every case, it does not follow that they have not also been temples, for the religious sentiment has in all ages and in all places tended to centre in tombs which ultimately have become places of worship. Many of our Christian churches have originated in this manner, and it is a most obvious transition from the tomb to the temple. The worship of the spirits of the dead at the one would naturally grow into the worship of the Great Unknown in the other."

The art of pictorial representation, which seemed to go back in the neolithic age, springs forward again in the age of bronze, though, apparently, it was not as advanced in Britain as elsewhere; for in Britain the designs worked on pottery and ornaments are always varied and often beautiful

arrangements of geometrical forms, animal forms not being represented.

The bronze age lasted in Britain until about a century and a half before Christ, and was succeeded by the iron age, when once more a metal of which better tools and weapons can be made not only gives the superiority to those who use it, but helps the advance of civilisation.

Until the Roman occupation of Britain this period is marked by little or no progress in the art of building. Some changes that took place in the construction of the funerary barrows have an interest for the student of beliefs and customs rather than for the student of art. It is to implements and objects of personal use and ornament that we must look for artistic advance; and even here the improvement is largely communicated from the outside.

The inhabitants of these islands were for centuries visited by travellers and merchants, and their art was influenced by the objects these visitors brought to them. As early as the twelfth century B.C. the Phoenician traders had passed between the Pillars of Hercules into the Atlantic, and reached Britain in the fifth century B.C. Somewhat later the Etruscan traders made their way here; and a gold corselet found at Mold, in North Wales, and other articles of the iron age, are clearly copies from Etruscan *repoussé* ornament. But from whatever source much of his art was derived, the Celt at the time of the Roman invasion had developed a remarkable skill in decorative art, which was principally applied to such objects as helmets, shields, sword-sheaths,

and horse-trappings, wrought in thin plates of bronze and with riveted joints. The ornament was produced either in the process of casting, by *repoussé* work, by chasing, or by enamelling, and usually consisted of spiral and interlacing patterns, with but little use of vegetable and animal, and none of the human, form. These patterns continued in use after the introduction of Christianity, and, as we shall see, are to be found on the earliest native Christian monuments in our islands, and, thus taken up, they survived until far later times.

## CHAPTER II

### ART IN ROMAN BRITAIN

IN the early years of our era the Roman invasion and occupation brought Britain within the pale of the older civilisation. Julius Cæsar, 55 and 54 B.C., came only to overawe the islanders and to prevent them from giving aid to their kinsmen across the Channel. But less than a hundred years later the Roman came again for a stay four centuries long, and to make Britain during that period, from the Channel to the Forth and Clyde, and from the Dee to the Humber, a Roman colony.

And as a part of his more highly developed civilisation the Roman brought with him an art far in advance of the art of the conquered Celt—an art which had behind it, and had grown from, the art of Egypt and of Greece; whereas the Celt, except for some slight borrowings,

was only at the level reached by Egypt and Greece before they entered upon their historic period. And although, on the withdrawal of the Roman legions, the tide of barbarian invasion swept over the land, the practice of Roman art summarily ended, and its productions were almost wholly destroyed, we must not ignore it, for its influence, not only over the Celt, but, through him, over the invading Saxon, was certain if slight, and at least left traceable influences which are important links in the chain of British art. And on this account, and also because, though vanquished then, the Roman influence was afterwards to assert itself not once or twice only, we must make clear to ourselves now what the art of Rome was and what legacy of art she left to the world.

The art of Rome was in the main borrowed art, and was in many ways spoiled in the borrowing. In her early days she employed the skill of the Etruscan, learning from him, amongst other things, the all-important use of the arch. Imperial Rome borrowed the skill of the Greek. But it was the skill of the decline of Greek art. Four centuries before Christ, art had reached its high-water mark in Greece. In architecture the Greek had arrived at no new form of construction ; he had taken the simple method of wall and column overlaid with horizontal stone or timber and carried it to the highest point it has ever reached in grace and refinement. At the same time sculpture also reached its highest level. These two achievements are best seen in the Parthenon at Athens, built by Pericles towards the close of the fifth century B.C. to celebrate

the victory of the Greeks over the Persian hosts. A mere ruin to-day, and despoiled of its sculptured ornament, the Parthenon is still beautiful ; and the sculpture, torn from its surroundings, mutilated and ill-seen in the gloom of our northern climate—for the greater part of it is in the British Museum—still shows the marvellous execution and balance of the real and the ideal which gives to it its pre-eminent place in the art of the world. But the Greek civilisation declined and fell, and art along with it, until, in 146 B.C., Greece became a province of the Roman Empire.

The Roman himself had little sense of beauty, or power to create beauty. He felt, or affected to feel, a contempt for art to which even such men as Seneca and Cicero gave expression. Nevertheless, the Romans became great collectors of Greek art, adorned their city with Greek sculpture, and employed Greek artists to build for them, to carve their portrait-statues, and to celebrate their victories in sculptured relief.

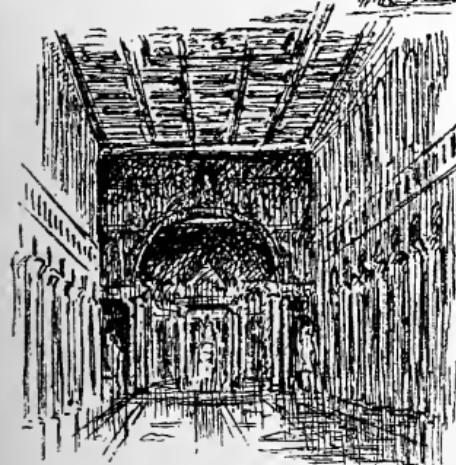
But, though they possessed little or no art-faculty themselves, the Romans made one all-important contribution to art in the use of the arch. Even this, as we have seen, they had learned from the Etruscans ; but they were the first to make general use of it in Western architecture. To build an arch is clearly more difficult than to lay stone or timber from wall to wall or from column to column. And there is the further difficulty of the constant outward thrust of the arch against its lateral supports. Hence the Eastern saying : “The arch is never at rest.” Hence also, probably, the Greek avoidance of its use, as the Egyptian had

previously avoided it ; though the Assyrian, condemned to build in brick, had used it freely.



THE  
PARTHENON,  
ATHENS.

THE ARCH  
OF CONSTANTINE,  
ROME.



BASILICA  
OF ST PAUL  
OUTSIDE THE WALLS,  
ROME.

The Roman, with his great practical energy, took up the arch, and made splendid use of it, and so achieved a variety in architecture unknown

to any earlier people. The greater size and height that the arch enabled him to give to his buildings suited his temper in the imperial age ; and temple, amphitheatre, bath, aqueduct and triumphal arch, sometimes in ruin, sometimes well-nigh perfect, yet remain as witnesses to the splendour of imperial Rome.

We shall have to criticise this Roman architecture later, and to observe that, though magnificent in construction, it lacked reasonableness and refinement in decoration. But at the moment it is sufficient for us to picture Rome become the mistress of the world, and endeavouring to adorn herself, in a manner befitting her position, with art in large part borrowed from the conquered Greek.

Returning to our northern colony, we have to find the extent to which the art of Rome was reproduced in the cities the Romans built in our island : in Eboracum, Deva, Londinium, or Camulodunum, the York, Chester, London, and Colchester of to-day. So well did the Saxon invader do his work of destruction that we can only judge of Roman art in Britain from the mere plan of buildings remaining in foundations or the lowest courses of the superstructure, and from a few tessellated pavements, and sculptured altars, coffins, memorial stones, and objects of art in pottery and metal, dug out from the ruins of town and villa and military station.

The architectural remains show that the temple, basilica, amphitheatre, bath, and villa of Italy had their provincial counterparts in Britain, but counterparts inferior in scale and in workmanship,

and adding nothing that could in any way be considered an advance in art. An enormous advance it all was, as we have already said, on the art of the conquered Celt. But Britain had now been taken into the civilised world, and her art must be judged from that standpoint. And the Roman, and the provincial legionaries and native Britons whom he taught to work with and under him, produced nothing but a provincial version of the art of Rome.

Minute details of this vanished art lie beyond our scope. With the Roman columnar temple came also the statue of the god for which the temple was a shrine. Figure-sculpture of this kind was new to Britain ; but in Greece and Rome the sacred oak or pillar of the earlier inhabitants had long been superseded by the statue. The

statues that have been found in this country are connected with many gods of many lands—not only with the gods of Rome, but with those of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Canaan ; and the sculptor also served a Pantheon of British and Gallic deities, amongst whom “ *Britannia Sancta* ” finds a place. Rome was thoroughly cosmopolitan in matters of religious belief.



Roman Altar.

The Roman-British dwelling-house, with its open courts, hall, chambers, and bath-rooms, closely resembled its Italian original, with minor changes principally to be accounted for by difference of climate and building material and the simpler conditions of provincial life, such as the probable roofing of the *atrium*, or principal apartment, the centre of which was open to the sky in the typical Italian house. Abundant remains show that the Roman brought with him the art of mosaic—the making of pavements or wall-decorations with small cubes of stone or glass. The pavements found at Uronicum, Woodchester, Lydney, Brading, and elsewhere, contain figures of animals and birds, hunting and fishing scenes, symbolic figures of the divisions of the day, Orpheus taming the wild beasts, and many representations of the gods ; and numerous examples of glass, pottery, toys, statuettes in terra-cotta, and jewelry and other portable objects in iron, bronze, and gold, have been found among the ruins of town and villa.

The introduction of Christianity into Britain during the Roman period had but little importance for art, either at the time or in later influence. But, for all that, it is part of our story ; it did leave traceable effects on architecture ; and it has at least the interest attaching to the first appearance of Christian art in Britain. At what time Christian churches were first established in Britain, or to what extent the religion spread amongst the people, we do not precisely know. St. Alban is said to have died for the faith at Verulam towards the end of the third century, and in A.D. 314, three

British bishops were present at the Council of Arles. So it is clear that Christianity exercised some not inconsiderable measure of influence.

There is evidence that the churches erected in this country for Christian worship were in the same form as those in Rome. And this particular form of building, which was destined to have an important influence in European art, already claims our attention.

During the first three centuries Christianity was alternately tolerated and persecuted in Rome, and its worshippers met in private houses, in the catacombs, and probably in buildings similar to those called *scholæ*, used by certain Roman societies which corresponded in large measure with the guilds of the Middle Ages. But when Constantine the Great, who went from Britain to claim the empire, gave the new religion his imperial sanction, the Christians, free to worship where and as they would, required larger and more imposing structures for their churches, and copied or modified, for this purpose, the basilica, a type of building of great importance in Rome, serving as it did the various purposes of law court, exchange, and place of general meeting. This structure in its later form, the one adopted with modifications for the Christian church, was an oblong building divided by rows of columns into a wide central aisle or nave and two or more side aisles, the central aisle rising high above the side aisles, and light being admitted through windows in the upper part of its walls and in the walls of the side aisles. At one end of the building, in some cases, a wide aisle ran laterally from side to

side, and beyond again was a semicircular recess or tribune, in which were the seats of the *prætor*, or judge, and his assessors.

It is well for us to fix the general form of this building in our minds, for it dominates the history of ecclesiastical architecture down to the present day. Adopted for the Christian church in Rome, it was also used in the provinces, and the Roman-British church at Canterbury was certainly built in this form. Roman foundations have been discovered at St. Pancras' Church, Canterbury ; and St. Martin's Church, just outside the same city, to which we shall have to refer again, is a Roman-British church altered or rebuilt. Parts of the ruined church of Reculver are Roman, and Roman building has been found on excavating at the church at Lyminge, rendering it probable that these also were Christian churches during the Roman period.

During this period we have also the first examples of the use in Britain of Christian symbolism in art. The Chi-Rho monogram, formed of the first two letters in the Greek form of the name of Christ, which was introduced as a Christian symbol by the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 312, has been found in a tessellated pavement at Frampton, in Dorsetshire, and in a foundation-stone of a Roman villa at Chedworth, in Gloucestershire ; while in a Roman pavement at Harpole, in Northamptonshire, a circle divided into eight parts by radial lines, and resembling one form of the monogram of Christ, and in a pavement at Horkstow, in Lincolnshire, some small crosses, may also be of Christian origin. No Roman-British sepulchral

monument which is undoubtedly Christian has yet been found ; and the only other Christian symbols hitherto discovered have been on portable objects, such as a bowl, a leaden seal, and two silver rings, on which the Chi-Rho monogram occurs, a piece of Samian pottery marked with a cross, and, on two gold rings, the Christian formula, *Vivas in Deo* (Live in God).

Only slight traces of Christianity, then, have been left in the remains of Roman architecture and art in this country. The new religion probably had not time to influence more than a comparatively small part of the population before the Roman departed, the Saxon came, and Christianity, civilisation, and art fled before him into the remoter parts of our islands.

### CHAPTER III

#### CELTIC CHRISTIAN ART

FROM the fourth to the fifteenth century art in Europe follows in the wake of Christianity ; and if, as in Britain, through the departure of the Romans and the invasion of the pagan Saxons, Christianity is driven away from any district, we must follow it to its place of refuge, or await its return, if we are to find any material advance in art. Driven from the south-eastern parts of the island, Christianity found a home in the west and north and across the sea in Ireland ; and it is there we find such progress as there is in art until the work of Augustine and his followers, and of the monks from Iona, converts pagan England to

Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. Ireland, indeed, during the fifth and sixth centuries, was the chief centre of activity for Christian missionary work and Christian art in Britain ; and then and later, Irish missionaries went still further afield, even into Italy itself, and their manuscripts and illuminations exercised no small influence on Continental art.

In the old stone age the Ireland of to-day was only one of the farthest outlying parts of the great continent, and its art was the same as the art of northern Europe generally. Even in the neolithic and bronze ages, when Ireland was geographically what it is now, its art differed in no important features from that of the larger neighbouring island. But as the Roman never succeeded in occupying Ireland, there is a complete change when we come to the Roman occupation of Britain, the Roman towns in which had no counterpart in Ireland, where the buildings, even when in stone, were of the rudest description. Only in the arts that the traveller could learn and communicate did Ireland make any considerable progress, until the advent of Christianity linked the island with the older civilisation.

Christianity probably existed on the eastern coast of Ireland at the beginning of the fifth century ; but the conversion of the island to the new religion dates from the work of St. Patrick, who, born in Scotland, and carried away as a slave to Ireland, escaped to Rome, and returned to Ireland in A.D. 432 to convert the country to Christianity, when his influence soon spread throughout the island. Scotland traces its

Christian origin to St. Ninian, in the fourth century; but not until the sixth century did the work of St. Kentigern and St. Columba establish Christianity throughout northern Britain. St. Columba was an Irish monk who, exiled from his own land in 563, founded a monastery at Iona, and then passed over to the mainland to effect the conversion of the Picts living to the north of the Grampians. The pre-Christian art of both Ireland and Scotland was practically identical—the art of the bronze age, of which we have already noted the principal features. And the close connection of the Irish and Scotch Churches led to a similar development of Christian art in each country.

The early ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland was influenced by the character of the Irish monastic system, which was of an Eastern type. The monks of the East were solitaries, each living in his own hut; and this was the form of monachism that obtained in Ireland even when the hermits were gathered together under an abbot. The first Irish churches were small oratories, steeply roofed in stone, two or more of which, associated with several monastic cells, were frequently in close proximity, when the whole group was surrounded by a stone rampart, as at Glendalough and Cashel. These earlier churches were entirely devoid of architectural features or sculpture, being, in fact, of the same character as the secular buildings of the time.

When a chieftain was converted to Christianity it was the custom to build a church within his stronghold, which consisted of rude buildings

enclosed within a rampart of earth or stone. There are several of these early monastic settlements within stone forts on the islands off the west coast of Ireland. One of the most remarkable is at Skellig Mhichel (Mount St. Michael), off the coast of Kerry. The island rises in two peaks, on the higher of which is the Church of St. Michael, and it has been a place of annual pilgrimage for many centuries. The church itself is a later structure, and its stone-work is cemented with mortar; but one of two small rectangular cells, and five—originally six—circular, or bee-hive, cells, are built without mortar or cement, the bee-hive cells being exactly like pagan structures in the same form found elsewhere, and distinguishable from them only by a cross formed of six white pebbles over the window above the doorway of the largest cell.

The rectangular cells—the rectangle being a later form than the circle, and surviving it in all countries for general use, though circular temples and churches built long afterwards, and still existing, perpetuate the earlier form—are oriented; the ends, that is to say, face east and west, and there is a doorway at the west end and one small window at the east. These may seem insignificant details, but this form of building was brought from Ireland into Scotland and England, and it is at least probable that it eventually influenced the form even of our great cathedrals.

So rude then were the earliest native-built churches in the British Isles. The later ones were larger, and had two chambers—nave and chancel, as we should say—one of them, smaller

in size than the other, being used as a sanctuary. They were built with mortar, the arch was used



BEEHIVE CELL  
ON SKELLIG MICHEL;  
WITH CROSS OVER  
WINDOW



ROUND TOWER,  
ARDMORE.



CELL,  
INCHCOLM.

in their construction, and they were embellished with mouldings and figure-sculpture.

It is in connection with these later churches that we find the famous round towers of which there are still 118 in Ireland and three in Scotland, and as to the date and purpose of which there has been so much dispute. It is now agreed that they are the work of Christian builders, and that they were erected for religious purposes from the ninth to the twelfth century. They were probably built to serve as strongholds to which the ecclesiastics could retire in times of hostile raids, taking with them their valuables. In the tenth century they are regularly referred to as bell-towers—a use to which they were probably not put at the outset. They are sometimes built of rubble and ashlar and sometimes of stone more or less regularly coursed. They vary in height from 100 to 120 feet, with a circumference at the base of about fifty feet, and have a conical stone roof. They were divided, by floors of stone or wood, into storeys, to which access was obtained by ladders; and there was usually one window in each storey, except the highest, which had several windows. The doorway, which always faced the neighbouring church, was about thirteen feet above the ground.

The origin of these towers is still obscure; but the existence of round towers at Ravenna, in Italy, at St. Maurice Epinal, in Lorraine, and elsewhere makes it at least probable that they were survivals in remote districts of a common European use.

These churches and towers are further interesting as giving us the first extensive use in our islands of sculptured Christian symbolism, only few traces of which, as we have seen, are to be found amongst the ruins of the architecture of Roman Britain.

Christian art begins in the catacombs of Rome, the first burial-places, and also, on account of the security they afforded, the primitive churches of the imperial city. The earliest decoration of the catacombs differed little from that of Pagan tombs, with the addition of such figures as the Good Shepherd or Daniel in the lion's den. Gradually, however, scenes from the Old and New Testaments become more numerous, the favourite ones from the Old Testament being those that were believed to point most directly to the work of Christ, such as Noah in the Ark, symbolising the Church, through which believers are saved from the destruction awaiting the world ; Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, typifying the sacrifice of Christ ; and the story of Jonah, referring to the resurrection of Christ on the third day. In the catacombs are also the earliest examples of the Christian use of symbolism, based upon the real or supposed qualities of animal life, derived in part from the Bible and in part from the fabulous tales about animals told in the ancient natural histories such as that of Pliny. The sheep typifies the flock of Christ ; the peacock is an emblem of the resurrection, in accordance with the old belief that its flesh is incorruptible, and that it loses its plumage in the winter only the more gorgeously to attire itself in the spring ; the fish is a symbol of Christ, because the letters of the Greek word for fish form the first letters of the Greek words for "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Saviour."

It was natural, also, that in the transition from paganism to Christianity such pagan myths and legends as could be interpreted in any Christian

sense should be seized upon. The favourite representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd bearing the lost sheep can be traced to the pagan motive of Hermes, as the god of flocks, carrying a lamb or kid ; and the legend of Orpheus taming the wild beasts with his music is used to set forth the power of Christ to subdue the wild passions of the human heart.

When Christianity received the imperial sanction and spread throughout the Roman Empire, it carried these art-motives with it, and others were added in course of time, as one or another dogma received special emphasis. The vessels used in the church ritual, the sarcophagi in which the dead were buried, the pictures in mosaic with which the walls and ceilings of the churches were decorated, ivories in such forms as book-covers, reliquaries, crucifixes, and images, manuscripts such as psalters and Bibles, were all decorated with scenes and figures like those in the catacombs.

Following this symbolism into our own islands, we find that the cross, which, except as a monogram of the name of Christ, did not come into use until the fifth century, is the first symbol found in them. We have seen it used in the Christian art of Roman Britain. In Ireland we have found it on the bee-hive cell at Skellig Mhichel ; and on the Round Tower of Antrim a cross is carved in relief on a slab of stone above the lintel of the doorway ; the emblem referring in each case to the blood of the lamb sprinkled upon the lintels of the house doors of the Israelites in Egypt, and to Christ's words, "I am the door :

by Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." With the exception of these crosses the early Irish churches show but little sculptured ornament, for which we have to look to sepulchral monuments and stone crosses.

The belief in the resurrection of the body has led Christians in all ages, as in the early centuries in the catacombs, to attach great importance to the tomb; although, since there was no belief, as in Egypt, that the spirit remained with or revisited the body while it lay in the tomb, the tombs of Christendom have not been as elaborate and as elaborately ornamented as those of Egypt. The figured ornament of the Egyptian tomb was believed to be of use to the spirit while it remained with the body in "the long home"; the figured ornament of the Christian tomb only gives expression to the faith in which the departed has died, and in which those who have erected the memorial live.

The earliest sepulchral monuments in Ireland are in the form of rude pillar-stones, of which 121 are known. They are not peculiar to Ireland, however, 107 similar stones being found in Wales, thirty in Cornwall and Devon, and five in Scotland, this distribution suggesting that Ireland may be regarded as their place of origin in the British Isles. They are pieces of hard, volcanic stone, usually about six feet in length, placed upright in a hole dug in the ground, and are neither dressed nor squared. A cross within a circle is incised in the stone and, though rarely, the Chi-Rho monogram. An inscription giving the name of the deceased was also cut in the stone, either in

rudely formed Roman letters or in Oghams, a form of writing consisting of straight lines crossing each other, used by the ancient Irish, or both forms of writing are used. The inscription often begins with the Latin *Hic jacet* (here lies), and is in either Latin or Irish or both languages. A later series of monuments consists of dressed stones of such varied forms as erect crosses, cross-slabs, cylindrical pillars, recumbent cross-slabs, and coped tomb-stones, which are ornamented with interlaced and spiral patterns derived from the earlier pagan art, and with labyrinthine key-patterns and animal forms with their bodies and different members interlaced in most grotesque fashion; and at a later date foliage was similarly employed. The designs were divided into panels and surrounded with a border. The language and lettering of the inscriptions vary according to the situation of the monuments. At Clonmacnois there are 179 sepulchral cross-slabs varying in date, as ascertained by the names inscribed, from A.D. 628 to A.D. 1273. Considered as art, the interlaced and other decorative work shows remarkable skill in design, but the figure-drawing is extremely rude. We have already seen that in the bronze age great skill was shown in the designing of geometrical patterns, but that the representation of animal and human forms was not attempted. The Celtic Christian artists, in their decorative work, testify to the value of traditional skill; the feebleness of their figure-drawing, on the other hand, being accounted for by its being a mere clumsy imitation of examples imported from the East. Still, the traditional art became excessively mechanical in character.

From these various kinds of monuments we may single out for fuller description the erect



SCULPTURED CROSS  
TRAWSMAWR,  
CAERMARTHENSHIRE.



HIGH CROSS  
CASTLEDERMOT  
CO. CLARE.



STONE  
WITH CROSS  
AND MONOGRAM,  
WHITHORNE,  
WIGTON SHIRE.

crosses which, from the ninth century, mark an advance in form on the earlier upright inscribed

stones ; for now the stone itself is cross-shaped, the typical form having a semicircular hollow in each angle made by the intersection of the arms, with a circular connecting ring, as shown on p. 37. The decoration of these crosses, both in elaboration and in the higher relief of the carving, is finer than the decoration of the sepulchral slabs. They occur in England, Wales, and Scotland, as well as in Ireland, and invariably in close proximity to a church. They were not usually memorial, but set forth in form and sculpture, for the benefit of the unlearned, the leading doctrines of Christianity. Some of them, as at Castle Kieran, County Meath, and at Ripon and Hexham, appear to have been terminal, marking the limits of the sanctuary ; and in Cornwall they were placed near the church doors to attract the attention of the worshippers. There are about thirty such crosses in Ireland, of which the finest are at Clonmacnois, Monasterboice, and Kells. They are found in the west of Scotland, but in the east the upright stone with incised cross was in use. In Wales there are over twenty crosses, varying in height from six feet to fourteen feet, most of which have a round-headed or "wheel" cross while others closely resemble the Irish form.

The decoration of the Irish crosses is thus described by Mr. Romilly Allen, and the description, with local differences, fits many of the finer crosses found elsewhere : "The general scheme of the decoration and symbolism of all the Irish high crosses is more or less the same. The leading feature is always the Crucifixion, which occupies the centre of the head on the front cross, whilst Christ in Glory is placed in

a corresponding position on the back. The spaces on the arms are filled in with the accessories of the central subjects. Upon the shaft are a series of scenes from Scripture, leading the mind on to the main doctrine of the Christian faith. The sides and other portions of the cross are ornamented with alternate panels of geometrical patterns of the usual Celtic type, and miscellaneous figure-subjects. The base, or socket-stone, is usually sculptured with symbolical subjects, more nearly resembling those found upon the upright cross-slabs of the east of Scotland than any of the rest of the design. The scenes portrayed consist of ecclesiastics, men in chariots, warriors, huntsmen, animals, and fabulous beasts, such as centaurs."

Art found a place also in the gospels and psalters written in Latin by the Irish scribes, in which decorative work of the same character and skill as in the stone-work is allied with extremely rude figure-drawing in ornamental and initial pages, initials, and miniatures, and is brilliantly coloured with red, blue, yellow, purple, green, and other pigments.

The most famous of these manuscripts is the one now known as the "Book of Kells," and in olden times as "The Great Gospels of Columba." It was the chief treasure of St. Columba's Church at Kells, and has been variously attributed to the seventh and ninth centuries. It is now preserved at Trinity College, Dublin. The large number and the extraordinary minuteness and intricacy of its interlacing patterns are one of its most remarkable features.

These manuscripts are the precursors of our modern printed and illustrated books; and we must briefly note the progress of the art of the illuminator from time to time, until it is superseded by printing and engraving. It may also be mentioned that the illustrations, both in the early and the later manuscripts, are among our most valuable sources of information as to the customs, furniture, dress, and other features of contemporary life. For even when the artist might profess to be illustrating the Bible or history, he made no pretence to archæological accuracy, but frankly modernised his prophets, saints, and heroes, and their surroundings. We cannot, however, rely absolutely on his descriptions; for it is quite clear that he did not confine himself to the jog-trot of literal accuracy, but often gave a free rein to his imagination.

The same decorative motives are also applied to metal-work, in such objects of ecclesiastical use as bells and their shrines, book-shrines, processional crosses, reliquaries, and altar-vessels. The figures which form part of this decorative work depict such Biblical events and beliefs of the Church as those we have already noted in the decoration of the catacombs and of the high crosses, and the use of which we shall see continued by mediæval art; and, in addition to these motives, animal and human forms often occur, of which the meaning or symbolism cannot be determined, and pagan ideas that are lost to us are evidently also contained in this Celtic Christian art, as in the art of the catacombs.

Though most of the monuments of Celtic Christian art hitherto described are Irish, it has been neither necessary, nor without difficulty possible, to refrain from mention of some of the same kinds of monuments in the other parts of the British Isles. Celtic art in Scotland and Wales was the same in its general features as the art of the same period in Ireland. The Welsh churches of this time have disappeared, and we must not stay to discuss the differences between the Welsh and Irish sculptured stones. Scotland demands a further word, for there we find a large number both of buildings and sculptured stones of the greatest interest. Even to these, however, we can devote no more than a mere summary statement.

The earliest churches in Scotland, like those in Ireland, have one small chamber only, with western door and eastern window. The rudest of them are built without mortar or other cement, and, as in Ireland, are associated with fortified enclosures and bee-hive cells. We have the same development as in Ireland into chancelled churches, with some of which, round towers, like the Irish ones, are associated, as in the island of Egilsay, and at Brechin and Abernethy. And Scotland also can show a rich and varied application of art to stone monuments, to portable objects in metal-work, and to books, similar to those we have already seen in the sister isle.

This Celtic art was the outcome of many influences. To the earlier pagan building and decoration were added forms of building probably derived from Lombardy, and decorative designs

and motives of Roman and Byzantine origin. But in the result, both in Ireland and Scotland, it becomes a truly national art, and runs a remarkable course, influencing not only England but Continental countries also, and reaching its highest development when, in England, art, having revived with the return of Christianity, is still feebly struggling on, helped in part by this very Celtic art, and in part by craftsmen introduced from the Continent. But in the Norman period England takes up the initiative, and in following the main stream of British art, we shall only have to make one further reference to Scotland and Ireland apart from England.

## CHAPTER IV

### ART IN SAXON ENGLAND

IN the year 410 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain and the islanders were left to govern and defend themselves. They were subject on the north and west to attack by the Picts and Scots, as a defence against whose incursions the Romans had built the great wall from the Solway to the Tyne, and by the Saxons and other tribes on the east coast, for the protection of which the Romans had appointed a special official, the Count of the Saxon Shore.

We need not dwell here on the story of the Britons playing off one foe against another, and of their final defeat by the Jutes and Saxons, whose help they had purchased by the fatal gift of a foothold in the country. The newcomers, as

we have seen, were heathens and uncivilised ; they brought with them no knowledge of architecture beyond the erection of wooden structures, nor were they far advanced in the practice of the more important of the minor arts ; and, killing or enslaving the Britons, or driving them into remote corners of the island or across the sea, they destroyed the Roman-British civilisation and art, and supplanted Christianity with heathenism. The partly legendary story of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table enshrines the long and bitter struggle which ended in the temporary triumph of a lower order of life.

Temporary it could only be. Not for ever was Europe, with Britain as an outlying part of it, to reel back into the brute. As the Greek civilisation had conquered the conquering Roman, as Christianity also, despised and dispersed, had eventually conquered Rome, so the barbarian hordes overran the Roman Empire, only to be mastered in their turn by civilisation and Christianity, which they invigorated with their fresh and wholesome life. Less than two centuries after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, Augustine came to herald the return of the civilised Christian power of Rome. King Ethelbert gave him permission to remain in Kent and to preach Christianity, and Bertha, the Queen, already a Christian, granted to him for the use of himself and his monks her own Church of St. Martin, which was either a new church built partly with Roman material upon the site of the Roman-British church to which reference has already been made, or the Roman-British church restored. In either case,

used as a Christian church since before the coming of Augustine, St. Martin's well deserves the title of the mother-church of England.

In due time the cautious Ethelbert himself accepted Christianity, and gave to Augustine a palace and the ruined church which, we have seen, was just outside the walls of the Roman city of Canterbury, and was in the basilican form, in imitation of the basilica of St. Peter in Rome, with an apse at each end. Whether Augustine had to rebuild this church, or simply to restore it, we do not know; but once more with the return of the Roman influence in religion comes the great tradition of art which Rome handed down.

But not without a struggle was Christianity to win a victory over the whole of England. In 627 Edwin, King of Northumbria, who had married Ethelbert's daughter Ethelburga, was converted and baptised at York by Paulinus, a follower of Augustine, in a little wooden church hastily erected for the purpose. But his acceptance of Christianity shook his power, and he was defeated and slain by Penda at Heathfield, in Yorkshire; whereupon Paulinus fled to Kent, and the north of England relapsed into heathenism. But Oswald, who shortly afterwards became King of Northumbria, had been educated in Columba's monastery at Iona; and at Oswald's request Aidan, a monk of Iona, came into Northumbria and recommenced the work of conversion, which was carried on by Chad and others. Thus there were two centres of Christian activity in the country—one in the south deriving from Rome, and the other in the north deriving from the Celtic Church, which

was not closely dependent on Rome. The dispute that arose between the two parties was settled in 664, when at an assembly of the clergy of the north held at Whitby, at which Wilfrid upheld the Roman authority and Colman the Celtic independence, King Oswiu decided in favour of the arguments of Wilfrid.

Wilfrid's victory had consequences of the greatest moment for this country, and in particular for its art. It meant the predominance in future of the wider art movements of the Continent, rather than of that Celtic art, which, as we have seen, was remarkable only for the narrow achievement of a traditional skill, tending to become mechanical, in the decorative use of geometrical forms, while its figure-drawing was puerile, and its architecture was of the rudest description. The effects of the victory at once became evident, for it is to Wilfrid and to his contemporary, Benedict Biscop of Monkwearmouth, that we owe the first churches of purely English erection.

At Ripon Wilfrid built a stone church with such architectural features as pillars and porticoes, and under the existing Gothic cathedral is a crypt, belonging to his time, which, with its "needle," formerly used as an ordeal of chastity, presents many interesting problems to the archæologist. At Hexham, also, Wilfrid erected a minster, of which there still exists the crypt, built largely with fragments of Roman masonry, including a most interesting inscribed stone of the Roman Emperors Caracalla and Geta.

(In A.D. 674 Benedict Biscop, desirous of building a stone church at Monkwearmouth, sent abroad

for workmen who could build "in the Roman manner"—that is to say, in the round-arched style then in use in Lombardy and Germany, which was a modification of the Roman style, and which, with later developments of round-arched architecture in Europe, is now known, with reference to its origin, as Romanesque. Only the tower-door remains of this church. It has a low and heavy arch supported by pillars, which are an imitation in stone of wood turned in a lathe, and the lowest stone on the right door-post is ornamented with twined beaked serpents.

From the beginning of the eighth century many stone churches were built in England. Nearly all of them have been replaced by later structures, the tower being often the only surviving part. For the generally disturbed condition of the country, owing to the contentions of the various tribes, the relapses into heathenism, and the subsequent incursions of the Danes, not only prevented any steady and therefore high development in architecture, but led to the destruction of many of the earlier churches. And to these causes as well as to the cessation of building which marked throughout Europe the approach of the year 1000, destined, as men believed, to see the close of this dispensation, we owe the fact that most of the Saxon churches or portions of churches still existing probably belong to the eleventh century.

But at Bradford-on-Avon, in Wiltshire, is a complete church in the Romanesque style, which is either the original church built by Aldhelm in the early years of the eighth century, or a later restoration, but which in either case gives us the

general form and appearance of a Saxon church. It is a small building about forty feet long. It consists of a nave and lower chancel, with a porch



on the north side of the nave, and is decorated on the exterior with pilasters and a shallow arcading running round the top of the chancel-wall

and at about three-fourths of the height of the nave-wall.

Besides the rebuilding of Roman churches as at Canterbury, and the imitation of contemporary Romanesque churches as at Bradford-on-Avon, wooden churches, similar to those in Norway and Sweden, were also built; remains of one of which are still in existence at Greenstead, in Essex.

In plan the Saxon churches consisted of nave and chancel, sometimes cruciform, and with either square or circular east end, and very rarely with side aisles. Rubble masonry was used in the main part of the wall, which was frequently divided at intervals with pilasters of dressed stone, and the angles were strengthened with dressed stones alternately upright and horizontal, a form to which the name "long and short work" has been given. Diagonal or herring-bone masonry was also used. The towers were usually square, though round towers were in use in Norfolk and Suffolk, but this was owing to flint being the most accessible building material, and the practice is still continued in those counties. The windows were small, with round or triangular heads, and deeply splayed both outside and inside, and their openings were divided by balusters—small moulded pillars, swelling towards the middle or towards the ends, and obviously imitated, as at Monkwearmouth, already mentioned, from wooden lathe-turned pillars; indeed, some of the stone ones are themselves lathe-turned. The doorways, like the windows, were either round or triangular headed. The Saxon mouldings were very simple, and stood out from the wall instead of being cut into its substance, and

generally the architectural features were rude in character when compared with either contemporary work on the Continent or with later architecture in this country.

One feature of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture, the use sometimes of the square and sometimes of the rounded east end, deserves a moment's attention in view of the later history of English church building. The rounded east end was, as we have seen, the Roman form, taken from the *schola* and *basilica*, and used in the Roman-British churches at Canterbury. The square east end was the Irish form, and passed thence, as already stated, into Scotland, and probably from Scotland with the Scottish missionaries to England, to become the more popular form for the ordinary parish churches, and finally to enter into competition with the rounded form in the great Gothic cathedrals and abbey churches, of the great majority of which, as compared with Continental examples, it becomes a distinguishing feature.

The Saxon domestic buildings were almost invariably of wood, and have, therefore, like all the wooden churches, with the one exception named, long since perished, leaving us with no clear idea of their form and style. We may assume that the more important ones, which consisted of one capacious chamber—the hall of the later mediæval house—where the work of the day was done, and where, at night, the servants slept, and a smaller, but hardly more comfortable, apartment, to which the master and his family retired, possessed some of those features of the church architecture which were obviously copied

from wooden originals, and the hall may occasionally have been a stone building. The Saxon towns were mere villages of wooden, shingle-roofed houses, surrounded with moat and wooden—or rarely stone—palisade for defence.

Very little sculptured ornament was used in Saxon architecture, such as there was being rude in execution, and having much the same character and subject as the sculpture of the Celtic Christian monuments. Pictures of Scripture subjects and figures in relief adorned the interior of the churches. In his "Lives of the Holy Abbots" Bede says that Benedict Biscop brought from Rome in 678, pictures of the Virgin and the twelve Apostles and of scenes from the Gospels and the Apocalypse, for his monastery at Monkwearmouth, and in 685, pictures of the history of Christ for the Lady chapel at Monkwearmouth, and of Old and New Testament types for the church at Jarrow. To him is also due the first glazing of church windows in this country.

The Saxon sepulchral monuments closely resembled those of the later Celtic period. The pagan Saxons buried their dead in separate graves marked by the mound of earth, but without stone monuments, which only came into use, therefore, after the introduction of Christianity; so that we do not find in Anglo-Saxon England rude, inscribed pillar-stones like those in Ireland and Scotland; but the later Celtic forms of erect crosses, flat cross-slabs, and horizontal hog-backed stones are all found in England, sculptured with figures and ornaments of markedly Celtic character, the inscriptions being cut in Runes, which were

letters of Scandinavian origin, in Latin capitals, or in small Saxon letters called minuscules. The finest Runic crosses are those at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, and Ruthwell, in Dumfriesshire, which latter county was in Saxon times included in the Kingdom of Northumbria. Panels of interlaced work, chequer patterns, scrolls of foliage and animals, and sculptures of St. John carrying the Agnus Dei, Christ, and a man holding a hawk, decorate the shaft which now alone remains of the Bewcastle cross. On the front and back of the Ruthwell cross are scenes from the New Testament and the Apocryphal Gospels, with explanatory Latin inscriptions in Roman capitals; and on the two sides are scrolls of foliage and birds; and each cross has also inscriptions in Anglian Runes, those on the Ruthwell cross containing twenty-one lines of an Anglo-Saxon poem "The Dream of the Holy Rood," which in a South Anglian version found at Vercelli in 1823 is attributed to Cynewulf, though a line of Runes at the top of the cross, now worn away by exposure, is said by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, to have attributed the poem to Cædmon. The Runes on the Bewcastle cross are less legible, but have been interpreted as recording its erection in the seventh century in honour of Alcfrith, King of Northumbria; but it is probable that both crosses were of later date than this. Many of the other crosses and sculptured stones (see frontispiece) found in different parts of the country invite description, but we must be content with having shown from two conspicuous examples the kind of interest such monuments possess.

We have seen that the pagan Saxons, when they arrived in this country, were entirely ignorant of architecture, and though they were skilled in the use of wood and bronze and iron, and worked also in glass and gold, they do not seem to have excelled in the minor arts, with the exception of jewelry, until they had been influenced by the work of foreign craftsmen brought over by Alfred.

As in the Christian art of Ireland and Scotland, so in that of Saxon England, we find decorative and figure-work applied to the vessels and vestments used in the services of the Church, and to such personal and portable objects as crosses, necklaces, and rings, and to ivories in such forms as plaques, caskets, and diptychs. In weaving and embroidery the Saxons developed great skill, their garments, worked with pictures and with golden birds and flowers, and made resplendent with gems, gaining a European reputation. Both in their textile work and in their illuminated manuscripts they evinced a somewhat barbaric love of gorgeous colour. And as in Celtic so in Saxon art, the greatest skill is shown in the geometrical decoration, and in the conventional use of the forms of leaf and flower. For though the figure-drawing is improved, we have to pass through the Norman into the Gothic period before either carver or painter shows any considerable mastery of human and animal form.

The Saxon illumination was obviously developed under Irish influence. The finest early example extant is the one known as the "Durham Book," now in the British Museum, which was written in the eighth century by Eadfrith, Bishop of

Lindisfarne, in honour of St. Cuthbert, the paintings in it being the work of *Æthelwold*, one of Eadfrith's monks, who succeeded him as Bishop. They consist of figures of the Evangelists surrounded by borders of interlaced and spiral patterns in the Irish manner, but treated with an originality that marks the beginning of a distinctly English school. The figures, though still rude, are better drawn than in the Irish manuscripts. The initial letters of this book are marvels of minute and beautiful workmanship. A fine specimen of later Saxon illumination is a *Benedictional*, now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, which was executed at Winchester towards the end of the tenth century by *Godemann*, for *Æthelwold*, Bishop of Winchester.

## CHAPTER V

### NORMAN ART

NORMAN customs and art were already influencing this country before the actual Norman invasion. Edward the Confessor had been brought up at the Norman Court, and was devoted to the foreign customs, which were in striking contrast with the roughness of the English. For the Normans—originally Danish and Norwegian marauders who had first plundered, and then settled in, the North of France on both sides of the Seine—had become a Christian and cultivated people. In the zeal for church building, after the year 1000 with its terrors had passed and men were free to breathe

again, they had been like the rest of Europe, and their great churches, built in the developed Romanesque style, in which the basilica has become cross-shaped, with a large central tower at the meeting of nave and transept and two smaller towers at the west end, contrasted as sharply with the small and rude Saxon churches as did the Norman with the Saxon manners. It is not to be wondered at, then, that Edward the Confessor, when, in pursuance of a vow, he set himself to build a new church for the monks of Westminster, should send to Normandy for men who could build him a church in the Norman style. A few fragmentary pieces of masonry are all that is now left of his church, but we know it to have been of practically the same dimensions as the later Gothic building.

The Norman conquest completed the work that Edward the Confessor had begun, and in an England united under one Church and one monarch we have again to see art developing under an influence which, foreign at first, so moulded and was moulded by the older English life that, as with two streams running into one channel, the old and the new gradually coalesced and became one.

In an earlier chapter it has been said that from the fourth to the eighteenth century art followed in the wake of Christianity, and of no period is this more true than of those Middle Ages upon which our story is now entering, and during which art and church building were almost synonymous terms. The claims of this world and the claims of the next world have always been difficult to balance

and to reconcile. And however earnestly men might strive in the Middle Ages for the things of this world, the accepted belief still was that this life was of little importance except as a preparation for the next, and that he was happiest who spent his life either in monastic seclusion or in the active work of the Church. Hence there was great scope for architecture in the building of numerous monasteries for the various religious orders, as well as the secular cathedrals and parish churches ; and as men were still simple enough to care for pictures, and the printed book had not come to render them less necessary for the purpose of instruction, we have, with a finer architecture, a closer alliance with it of a more skilful painting and sculpture, to set forth, as we have already seen them set forth in a ruder art, the things it was deemed most necessary for men to know and to believe.

Let us consider for a moment the relation of architecture to the other arts. Both the Celts and the Saxons had only the rudest architecture of their own, and any advance of this art amongst them came through external influence. The importance of architecture, and the gathering of the other arts around it, is one of the marks of a high civilisation. Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome had in their turn shown this union of the arts. Architecture is often called the mother of the arts. In one sense, in the sense of giving birth to the other arts, nothing could be farther from the truth. We have seen that sculpture and engraving and the making of objects of use and ornament long preceded the builder's art. But in civilised com-

munities architecture has been the mother of the arts in the sense of gathering them round her and raising them to a dignity impossible for them without her aid. At the same time we must recollect that without painting and sculpture all the great historic buildings of the world would be robbed of their main interest. A building in itself is only a shelter, and it is difficult to believe that, had not sculpture and painting come in to make mere shelters the expression of ideas, buildings would ever have become in any high sense works of art. But the building which is the shelter for the statue of the god, or, in common old-time belief, for the god himself, or for the king, or for the national senate, or for the governors of the city, inevitably becomes larger and more magnificent than those that are for private use only. And when such buildings are adorned with sculpture and painting, as man adorned even his implements of peace and war and his dress, these arts are called upon to express the great religious and political ideas and facts that are the reason for the existence of the buildings, and so fulfil a higher function than they could derive from the service of mere private ends. And in raising the other arts, architecture raises herself in the degree of all the varied help she receives from them ; and, together, she and they become a new creation, neither architecture, sculpture, nor painting, but an art combining, blending, transforming, the separate powers of each. Nowhere has more adequate expression been given to the intensity of feeling evoked, when the arts are thus united for a common end, than in the often quoted lines in Milton's "*Il Penseroso*" :

But let my due feet never fail  
To walk the studious Cloisters' pale!  
And love the high embowèd roof,  
With antique pillars massy-proof;  
And storied windows richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.

There, let the pealing Organ blow  
To the full-voiced Quire below,  
In Service high, and Anthems clear,  
As may, with sweetness, through mine ear,  
Dissolve me into ecstasies;  
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.

From the twelfth to the sixteenth century the intellectual, social, and economic conditions of England were favourable to the growth of the arts in close relation both to each other and to the life of the people as a whole.

The economic conditions of the Middle Ages were simple compared with those of to-day, and permitted an elaborate organisation of trade and craft in striking contrast with our modern chaos. Trade was within manageable compass. With a relatively small population, the products of the country itself supplied the necessities of life. Each town, each village, with its surrounding country, produced its own necessaries, leaving sufficient for export in exchange for articles of luxury or bordering between luxury and necessity. There was little localisation of industry, no manufacturing in vast quantities for sale in the markets of the world, but little, and that only rude, machinery, hence but little division of labour; and manufacture was mainly a literal making by hand, what was made being for use rather than for sale. The merchant guilds, and later, the craft

guilds, controlled the various industries, but not in the interest merely of man against master, or of master against man, as in the modern associations and unions. They regulated prices and quality of work, and in union with each other maintained order in the whole of the national industry. They had their religious office too, and were also sick and burial clubs.

Under such conditions brain and hand worked closely together. Under no necessity for keeping machinery running and turning out vast quantities of saleable goods, it was less difficult to keep up a high standard of quality both in material and design. Art and industry, therefore, went hand in hand, in contrast with modern conditions, under which they have become so divided that artist and craftsman strive almost in vain to get back some respectable measure of art into our industries. Such art as we have to-day is mainly the creation of a class of persons styled artists, the craftsmen being left to work out their designs. The art of the Middle Ages was the work of a large body of people, large in proportion to the population as a whole, every craftsman being in his measure an artist ; and the craftsman who showed the greatest capacity for organisation and design taking the lead. Father handed down to son, carrying on the ancestral craft which often gave the family its name, and one generation of craftsmen handed down to another, with gradual improvement as experience taught them, a body of traditional practice which found its highest exposition in the close union of the arts, greater and lesser, with architecture. Hence it is that, as compared with modern imita-

tions of them, the older buildings, so far as they have not suffered by mechanical restoration, bear the mark of individuality in every detail.

But such a happy balance of art and industry was not to continue indefinitely. The old order had to change and yield place to the new; and barely had the equilibrium been established when new intellectual, social, and economic conditions were thrown into the scale, and an inequality returned which the intervening centuries have only served to accentuate. With the full balance-sheet of loss and gain arising from these changes we shall not be concerned here. But we must have them in mind if we wish to understand the history of art.

William the Norman, his victory once assured, proceeded to fill the most important ecclesiastical positions with foreigners and to give large grants of land to his military followers. Both these features of the new *régime* had an important influence on art. The Norman bishops and abbots brought with them the building traditions of their own country, and carried on the architectural revolution begun by Edward the Confessor. The newcomers had a natural contempt for the small and inferior churches of the conquered Saxon, and almost invariably destroyed them and rebuilt larger ones in the foreign style. The opportunities for building were many, for not only were there cathedrals to erect in the large towns that William now made the bishop's seats, but also, as we have seen, the monasteries of the various religious orders, the buildings of which rivalled those that were provided for general religious use. There was much

rivalry between the various ecclesiastics, and, indisputably, imposing architecture has always helped the hold of the Church on the imagination of the people. There is little need, then, to wonder at the passion for building displayed by the Church during the Middle Ages.

Canterbury is a conspicuous example of the way the Norman went to work. Archbishop Odo had rebuilt and enlarged the cathedral in 940. In 1070 William I. appointed Lanfranc, an Italian, to the archbishopric, and he at once set to work to build an entirely new cathedral and monastery, destroying the whole of Odo's work. But within twenty years after the completion of Lanfranc's work the east end of his church was pulled down during the archi-episcopate of Anselm and rebuilt more splendidly by Ernulph, the prior of the monastery. The next prior was Conrad, and he completed Ernulph's work, nearly doubling the area of the building. A noticeable feature of mediæval architecture is the small respect that bishops and abbots showed for the work of their predecessors. Often doubtless they had a better excuse than our modern restorers: they had learned something worth knowing in the meantime, and could do better work.

Happily, the successors of the Norman builders, though, as we shall see, they replaced much of the Norman work with their own structures, left sufficient to enable us to appreciate the robust qualities of the Norman art. Among the cathedrals which retain most or much of the work of the Norman builders we may name Rochester, Winchester—where little Norman work remains

visible, but much still exists overlaid by Gothic work—Chichester, Norwich, Peterborough, and, above all, Durham, which, partly perhaps through



West Front, Durham.

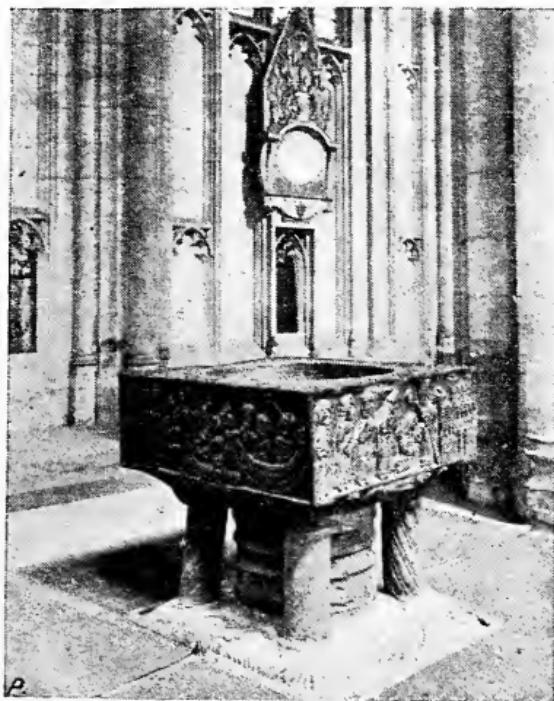
its situation, but mainly surely through its own majestic appearance, is one of the very finest and most effective mediæval buildings in the country.

We have already sketched the general structural form of a Norman church, showing its derivation from the Roman Christian basilica. The impression of giant strength these buildings convey is in part due to a defect in the art of their builders, who, lacking skill in mere mason-craft, used more material than would otherwise have been necessary for their purpose. In some instances the result is a heavy, clumsy appearance even to those who cannot measure the strength needful for the weight to be carried or the pressure to be resisted. But generally, though the pleasure of the trained architect may be lessened by his technical knowledge, the impression is one of majestic strength. The beautiful Galilee Chapel at Durham, with its slender columns and arches, and others of the later examples of the style, show what it was capable of in refinement and grace.

The early Norman arches were not moulded but only recessed. The purely architectural decoration, wrought with the axe, the chisel not having come into use, consisted chiefly of zigzag and lozenge ornaments. The capitals of columns were of a heavy convex form known as cushion-shaped, and the window-openings and doorways were extremely plain. But as the style advanced it increased in richness. The use of the chisel gave the sculptor greater freedom, the arches were elaborately moulded, and in addition to the earlier zigzag, lozenge, and other mouldings, figures such as the crane's-bill and the cat's-head and conventional leafage and flowers came into use; indeed the ornament, particularly in the doorways, runs riot, until its very redundancy becomes

monotonous through lack of quiet intervals to afford contrast.

The figure-sculpture, wall-painting, and stained glass of the Norman churches—of the second we have the merest fragments and of the third nothing



Font, Winchester.

remaining—carried on the tradition of Christian art which, as we have already seen, Celtic Britain and Saxon England already shared with the rest of Christendom. Of figure-sculpture a not inconsiderable amount remains in the Norman portions of such cathedrals as Canterbury, Winchester, Peterborough, and Durham, and in

many parish churches. It is rude—childish, we might say—in style and execution. It was worked principally in the tympana, or spaces between doorways and the arches that enclosed them, on the architectural details of the doorways, in niches over doorways, on the capitals of columns and other architectural features of arches, on the corbels or brackets supporting beams or arches, on slabs built into the wall, and on fonts and sepulchral slabs and churchyard crosses. Here we can enter into little detail, but enough must be said to show that the Church still set forth, not by the work alone of the priests within it, but by the work also of the artist upon it, the purpose it was built to serve. We still find the cross placed above the principal entrance. In the tympana and elsewhere we find designs to represent such subjects as the Lamb of God, Christ in Glory, the four Evangelists, the Descent of Christ into Hell, the contest between good and evil, St. George and St. Michael fighting with the dragon, the virtues and the vices, Christ trampling on the serpent, the Virgin and Child, the Baptism of Christ, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross. By these and similar designs, rudely carved, but still not without art, and clearly telling their story, the sculptor's aid was sought to tell through the eye what the book told to the learned and the priest spoke to the unlearned.

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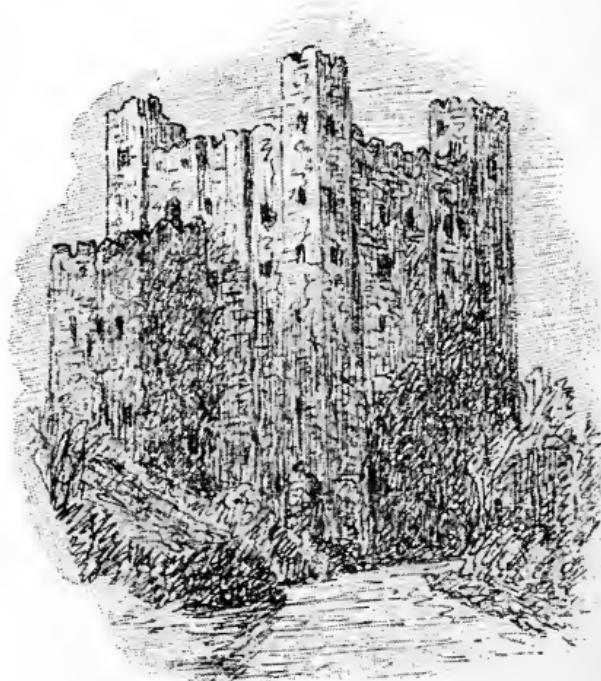
Both the Conqueror and his chief military followers, to whom he had made large grants of land, had to adopt means to ensure their hold upon the conquered country. The castles that

were built for this purpose were the most important Norman secular buildings. The modes of attack and defence did not differ materially from the earliest days of history until the days of gunpowder, and except for changes of costume, the sieges depicted in the wall-sculpture of Assyrian palaces and Egyptian temples differ little from the sieges of the Middle Ages. Thick and lofty walls for defence, undermining, battering-ram, and scaling-ladder for attack, archery and the hurling of heavy weights and other missiles at short range on both sides, with differences of detail only, lasted for thousands of years.

The Saxon fortress, as we have seen, usually consisted of ditch, mound, and wooden palisade. The Normans, also, erected many wooden castles both in Normandy and in this country. But the typical Norman fortress was a much more formidable and durable defence. Its principal feature was the donjon, or keep, a square stone tower with walls as much as thirty feet thick at the base and ten feet thick at the top. Its lowest storey was the store-room, and above, reached by staircases in the thickness of the walls, were the rooms for the owner and his servants and garrison, while the one small doorway opened into one of the upper floors.

The keep sometimes stood alone, usually upon a mound, and surrounded by a moat; but in time it became associated more frequently with outer defensive works in the form of walls and subsidiary towers. On the farther side of the ditch or moat, the barbican, a defensive wall with turrets, protected the entrance to the draw-bridge. This in

turn, as its name implies, could be lifted up, leaving the moat between the besieger and the castle entrance; and this difficulty overcome, by bridging or filling up the moat, there was still the heavy gate and the portcullis; while the besieged



Keep, Rochester Castle.

shot their arrows or hurled heavy missiles from the towers which flanked the gateway. The noble and his family still lived within the keep, and other dwellings within the defences were usually built of wood.

The feudal castle was not a desirable dwelling-place. Its main purpose forbade the use of large

windows facing the open, and as soon as it no longer met the military requirements it was speedily abandoned, as we shall see hereafter, for a more commodious and pleasanter type of dwelling. Nor can it be looked upon as a work of art in the same sense as the cathedral or church, where the purpose of the building left the builder full scope in design and proportion, and where decoration of many kinds could be freely used. For age and ruin have invested the mediæval fortress with a charm it did not originally possess. But gradually, as we shall see, the mansion developed within the fortress; and when at last the need of defence passed away, the mansion expanded freely, and, with the close of the age of great church building, became for a time one of the principal kinds of building by means of which architecture existed and developed as a fine art.

In domestic architecture only such buildings as the "Great Hall of Rufus," its round-arched, basilican form unrecognisable in the Westminster Hall we know to-day, and a few guild- and manor-houses, were built of stone, the vast majority of even the larger dwelling-houses being still of wood and mud-clay in timber frame-work.

It is interesting to trace the beginnings of two kinds of dwellings, the names of which, manor-house and grange, have now such an old-world sound to us. The first manor-houses were built by the tenants of the greater barons; and the first granges were occasional dwellings for the Cistercian abbots, with garners for the harvest and with chapels attached.

Windows were closed with wooden shutters,

glass not coming into use for dwelling-houses until the thirteenth century; nor were chimneys commonly in use until the fifteenth century. Painted decoration was employed, and ornamental iron-work. The hall was still the most important part of the larger houses, of which the accommodation was not materially better than in Saxon times. When unusually wide, the hall was divided, like the nave of the church, by two rows of columns and arches, as at Oakham Castle, Rutlandshire. The solar, or retiring-room for the owner and his family, was frequently on the second storey, with a cellar beneath, and was usually reached by an outside staircase. In some houses, such as the Jews' House at Lincoln, there were two storeys throughout, the dwelling-part being the second storey, reached by an outside or inside staircase. The furniture was scanty, comprising little more than bed and chest in the sleeping-room, and tables and benches in the hall.

The art of illumination makes little advance during this period, but much skill was shown in embroidery and tapestry. The famous Bayeux tapestry, still preserved in the town from which it is named, whether or not it was the work of Matilda, the wife of William I., is a most valuable record of the details of contemporary life. The Normans were also capable workers in enamel, which they applied to many objects of ecclesiastical and domestic use. But it is for their architecture that, as artists, they have the strongest claim upon our remembrance.

## CHAPTER VI

## GOTHIC ART IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE middle of the twelfth century sees the beginning of the style of architecture generally known as Gothic. The name is an unfortunate one. It is, in fact, a mere nickname, a term of contempt used by the sixteenth-century artists to whom in the heyday of the classical revival everything not classical must be barbarous and only worthy a name expressive of barbarism. The French, who regard Gothic art as a national asset, think "French architecture" would be the best term to use; but this, and Pointed Architecture, Christian Architecture, and other suggestions have equally failed to gain general consent, and so the term Gothic holds the field.

One feature that eventually distinguishes Gothic from Romanesque architecture is the pointed arch. Not that this was a new form. We find it in ancient Egypt and Persia, and the Etruscans also employed it. It was probably introduced into Western Europe from Mohammedan sources, and it was used by the church architects of Provence probably as early as the tenth century. But it was in Gothic architecture in the twelfth century that it first came into general use in Western art. In the former half of that century it was first used in this country, and may have been suggested by its occurrence, inevitable but unintended, in the intersection of the round arches of Norman arcades.

But the change from round to pointed arch would not in itself have sufficed to establish an

architecture essentially different from the Romanesque, which the Gothic actually was. The difference is in the structure of the roof, and constitutes a complete change in the genius of the building. The new departure came about in the course of a search for a sufficiently prosaic though all-important requirement—the protection of churches from fire, to which their wooden roofs had rendered them so easily liable. To substitute stone for wood was the desideratum.

The architects of the south of France were nearest to actual examples of roofing in stone. They first tried the barrel-vault, with which the Roman buildings had made them familiar, and roofed their churches in stone as a railway tunnel is roofed. But the pressure on the outer walls exerted by this vaulting obliged them, in order to diminish its force, to decrease the width of the churches as compared with the old basilicas, and to make the walls extremely thick. The next expedient was the one adopted early in the eleventh century at the church of St. Front, Perigueux, which was roofed with a series of domes, each supported by four arches, as were the domes of such churches as those of the Holy Apostles and St. Sophia at Constantinople, and later, St. Mark's at Venice. But this construction was complicated and less suited to the long churches of the West than to the square churches of the East. Impelled to seek for a more satisfactory solution of the problem, the architects hit upon the device of carrying narrow, arched ribs of masonry, both directly and diagonally, across the church, thus forming a skeleton roof which may be roughly

compared to the ribs of an umbrella, with the difference that the architectural ribs were supported from the ends, not from the point of intersection. Then the spaces between the ribs were filled with masonry which the ribs carried, as the ribs of the umbrella carry the covering material.

The advantages of this device were economy of material and therefore lightness in the construction. Hence the churches could be restored to the same width as, and even made wider than, before. Again, it will at once be seen that whereas the barrel-vault exercised an equal pressure along the whole length of the wall, which therefore needed to be of great thickness throughout, as the ribs sprang only from certain points, the pressure of the roof was concentrated on those points, and counter pressure had also to be concentrated there in the form of strong, projecting buttresses. Hence we have a complete structural change. While the form of the basilica, with the addition of the transepts, is retained, instead of wall or column supporting horizontal stone or timber, as in Greek temple or Roman basilica, or greatly thickened wall supporting barrel-vault, as in the Romanesque vaulted church, we have the buttresses supporting the skeleton of ribs filled in with light masonry. The wall-spaces between the buttresses can now be opened out as windows, and the whole structure, a system of balanced thrusts, as it has been aptly described, becomes, we may say, nervous and organic as compared with the ponderous, inert masses of the earlier art.

To the French architects, then, must be given the credit of inventing this new constructive device,

and French architects, in such cathedrals as those of Paris, Chartres, Rouen, Rheims, and others, carried it to its logical conclusion and to the utmost degree of daring in the loftiness of their buildings. They raised their vaults so high as to be obliged to make far more extensive use than was made in this country of the permanent external stone props, which we know as flying-buttresses, to resist the enormous pressure ; and notwithstanding this device, their structures not unfrequently collapsed, as in the case of the nave of the Cathedral of Beauvais.

The exact amount of the debt that English Gothic in its beginning and development owed to French example and influence is, and is likely to remain, a matter of keen and interesting dispute among archæologists ; but its discussion is beyond our scope. Briefly stated, the alternatives are, on the one hand, that the introduction of the groined vault into this country, and its subsequent development here, and a system of decoration adapted to the new style, were due to French architects, and to the French influence under which English architects worked ; and, on the other hand, that, receiving the hint from France, English architects took it up and developed it in their own way, in some respects a better way than the French, the French work in this country being an incursion of French architects into a sphere already occupied by the English, rather than the example from which our builders learned their business.

However this may be, as early as 1130 the pointed arch came into use at Malmesbury

Abbey, and was in general use twenty to thirty years later. Ribbed vaulting was employed in the chapter-house of the Cistercian abbey at Ford, Dorsetshire, about 1145, in Worcester Cathedral about 1160, and in the Carthusian chapel of St. Hugh at Witham, in Essex, about 1175.

These and other experiments had been made either before or close upon the rebuilding, after its destruction by fire, of Conrad's Norman choir at Canterbury in 1174, under the direction of the French architect known to us as William of Sens. This is the first important example of Gothic building in this country. The work of William of Sens is distinctly French in character, but after superintending the rebuilding for four years, he was disabled by falling from a scaffold, and his place was taken by another William, this time an Englishman, in the details of whose work the English mason-craft declares itself. Once used for the principal part of a great church, the style was soon widely adopted; and with many English characteristics, and with great variety in different examples, it was applied to the rebuilding of Lincoln Cathedral, begun in 1190, at Wells, in the "Nine Altars" transept at Durham, at Ely, Beverley, York, and elsewhere. Between 1220 and 1260 Salisbury Cathedral was built. In 1245 Henry III. pulled down the Norman choir and transepts of Westminster Abbey and rebuilt them, and also built a Lady chapel (afterwards destroyed to make room for Henry VII.'s chapel), his French proclivities showing themselves in the adoption of the French style for the new structure, as in the rounded east end with radiating chapels. So, gradually, for

the Norman style did not immediately pass out of use, the Gothic won its way in this country.

The building enthusiasm of William the Norman's foreign ecclesiastics contributed in no small degree to determine the character of English Gothic. They had raised so many cathedrals and abbeys, and on such a large scale, that the builders of the later period found their work limited to the making of additions to these earlier buildings, or to the gradual replacing of them. English Gothic is therefore historical and experimental rather than logical. It nowhere reaches the splendour of the thirteenth-century architecture of the Ile de France.

On the other hand, it has a longer and richer development than French Gothic. And most of our churches and abbeys, added to, altered, and in part rebuilt, during three and even four centuries, have far more historical associations than the finest examples of French Gothic, each of which was erected within a space of comparatively few years, and all of which were completed within not much over half a century. Salisbury and Lichfield Cathedrals are among the exceptional ones in this country practically built within a few years and in one style. And while we realise in this more æsthetic and logical completeness, we feel a distinct loss on the historical side.

Another notable difference between English and French Gothic is that the English builders, adapting, not first creating and then consistently developing, the new structure, did not build up the frame-work of pillar, vaulting-shaft, vault, buttress, and flying-buttress in the same clear, logical

manner as the French. For example : the French always carried the vaulting-shaft—the pillar from which the roof-ribs start—right up from the ground ; but until the later days of English Gothic our architects only carried it from a bracket *built into the wall* at a considerable height.

The great English churches still retained large central towers, one of the important features that distinguished the Anglo-Norman from the purely French Romanesque, and then the English from the French Gothic. Another marked difference between English and French Gothic is that whereas the latter retained the circular or apsidal eastern termination that the Romanesque church had inherited from the Roman Christian basilica, most of the English churches have a square ending with a great east window. We have already seen that, whereas the Roman-British churches had a rounded east end, the early churches of Ireland were square-ended, and that this form was also retained by the church-builders of the Saxon period. Its use by the builders of the great Gothic churches is therefore possibly in part the continuance of a national tradition, or it may simply be that the English architects, not carrying out the Gothic structure as logically and with as much daring as the French, avoided the difficulties of the complicated vaulting and support necessitated by the rounded end.

The history of Gothic architecture in this country is usually divided into three periods—Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular. Different writers have fixed different dates for the beginning of these periods ; but, speaking

generally, though the later years of one style overlap the earlier years of the succeeding one, the Early English style is characteristic of the thirteenth century, the Decorated of the fourteenth, and the Perpendicular of the fifteenth.

In the typical Early English style the windows consist of a plain lancet arch and are usually long in proportion to their width. They are used either singly, or two or more together, as in the case of the beautiful "Five Sisters" window in the north transept of York Minster. The doorways are deeply recessed, with small shafts in the jambs, and the arches are moulded. The mouldings emphasise the form of the arch by repeating it, while their varied forms afford interesting play of light and shade. They are one of the most beautiful features of the decoration of Gothic buildings, varying in form in different examples and at different periods. Circular windows, as in York, Lincoln, and Beverley Minsters, are oftener employed in this than in the later periods; but they were much less used here than in France, where rose windows form one of the most beautiful features of the cathedrals. In the interior the plain pillars of the Norman style are replaced by clustered columns consisting of large shafts surrounded by smaller ones; the arches are all moulded and the heavy convex capital with a square abacus has given place to a lighter concave one with circular abacus. Not only have the main constructive features become lighter with increased science and skill in workmanship, not only has the substitution of the pointed for the rounded arch increased the lightness of effect, but the

refinement of the style is further enhanced by the decorative features we have just detailed.

The Gothic sculpture also has made an enormous advance on the rude work of the Norman. In the extent of its use in the Early English period it is distinguished, both from the Norman, which preceded it, and from the Decorated—the very name implying the difference—and the Perpendicular Gothic, which followed it, by a greater reserve; with the result that in this period there is more than in any other an even balance between the work of the architect and that of the sculptor, so that the comparison has been possible between this early Gothic and the refinement of the Greek architecture of the best time. Less imitative also of natural form than in the later periods, the sculpture is more in harmony with the architecture than afterwards, when it tends to pursue an almost separate purpose of its own. The capitals and corbels are decorated with conventional, but still beautiful, foliage, architectural, but with more variety and suggestion of life than in the classical sculpture, thus being in sympathy with the more organic structure of the Gothic buildings, but still not imitating the profusion and confusion of nature, as if real foliage could grow from stems of stone. The arch-mouldings are decorated with spray and leaflet, but again with a fine reserve, leaving the plainness of some of the mouldings as a foil to the decoration of others. Wall-spaces also are frequently enriched with diaper-work of leafage set in small squares, as at Westminster Abbey, giving a beautiful texture to the surface without destroying its breadth.

Gothic figure-sculpture in England never attained to the height of the French schools, which, in the thirteenth century, freeing themselves from the classical and Byzantine traditions, anticipated the great revival of sculpture in Italy in the following century, and probably exercised considerable influence over the work of Niccola Pisano, who was the pioneer of that revival. The vast array of figures of saints and kings and nobles that solemnise the portals of the great French cathedrals—features, by the way, in which the French cathedrals are far superior to our own—are absent from most of ours ; but on the great screens that illogically do duty for west fronts in the cathedrals of Wells and Salisbury, and on the west front of Lichfield, our seventeenth-century iconoclasts have left us sufficient examples of the numerous figures that once decorated them, to show that they need not at least fear to claim companionship with the work of the French sculptors, both in rendering of form and expression and in style.

The finest are undoubtedly the figures on the west front of Wells Cathedral, 400 in number, including twenty-four colossal seated figures and over 200 of the size of life. This west front is one of the great "Stone Bibles" of Gothic art. The late Mr. Cockerell, who devoted many years to the study of these figures, says of them : "In the first tier are the personages of the first and second Christian missions to England, St. Paul, Joseph of Arimathea, St. Augustine and his followers. In the second are the angels chanting the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' and

holding crowns, spiritual and temporal, the rewards of their predication. In the third tier to the south are the subjects of the Old Testament, and to the north of the New. In the fourth and fifth we have an historical series of the lords, spiritual and temporal, and of the saints and martyrs under whom the Church has flourished in this country: King Ini, founder of the conventional church of Wells; Edward the Elder, founder of the episcopal church; the Saxon, the Danish, the Norman, and the Plantagenet dynasties; together with these are the founders of dynasties, daughters and allies by marriage of the royal houses of England, the leading characters and lords of the Church—as Archbishop Brithelm, St. Dunstan, Bishop Asser, Grimbald, the Earl of Mercia—surrounding Alfred. They form a complete illustration of William of Malmesbury and the early historians of our country—a calendar for the learned men as well as for unlearned artists." And above all these is the figure of Christ as the One who rules their work to divinely appointed ends.

The use of stained glass for windows, one of the chief decorative features of Gothic architecture, dates probably from the ninth century and had become common by the eleventh century. During the Middle Ages it was essentially an art of Northern Europe, the great window-space, rendered possible, as we have seen, by the Gothic construction, giving a stimulus to its development, while the delight in the glass, in turn, influenced the development of the window. As between Northern and Southern Europe, with their great differences of climate and of architecture, the relations of wall

and window are exactly reversed, necessitating a similar reversal in the relation of the use of mosaic or fresco-painting to that of stained glass; so that the glass takes in the North the important place held by painting in the South.

Decorative window-glass is either stained or painted. In the former case the colouring matter, consisting of various forms of metallic oxide, is mixed with the molten white glass in the melting-pot—hence its familiar name, ‘pot metal’—so that the glass is coloured throughout. In painted glass the white glass is painted on the surface, and the pigment is then fused to it. In the early history of the art there is much stained, and but little painted, glass used; in its later history the relations are reversed. Besides these two principal methods there are other minor devices which permit more varied colour and design, but which we need not specify here. And as it will readily be seen that by painting on the glass, rather than by merely cutting, so as to form patterns or figures, sheets of glass already coloured, and then fixing the pieces together, the craftsman could make his work approximate more nearly to that of the painter, we are hardly surprised to find that this temptation proved in the long run too strong for the glass-painter; that his work became pictorial rather than decorative; and that he ended by endeavouring to make his windows look like oil-painting, instead of trying to bring out the essential qualities of glass: colour, and brilliancy of translucent light.

Of the technique of the art it is sufficient to add here that, after being cut to the required shape,

the pieces of glass were framed in strips of grooved lead, and the whole was secured in the window-space with the help of iron bars ; and the arrangement of the leads and the iron bars so as to secure the glass, and yet not to interfere with the design, formed one of the problems the craftsman had to face. We have seen that Benedict Biscop sent abroad for workmen to glaze the windows of his church at Monkwearmouth ; and the later, mediæval, art was also derived from abroad ; and during the different periods a great deal of the glass in English churches was actually of foreign workmanship.

Mere fragments only are left of twelfth-century glass and but little, in this country, of the thirteenth. The iconoclast and the restorer have done their work only too well. The twelfth-century glass appears to have been deep and rich in colour, red and blue prevailing. The windows consisted of figure subjects in small medallions, surrounded by scroll-work. The figures were small and difficult to interpret, except those far from the eye in the clerestory windows. In the choir of Canterbury Cathedral there is a series of these medallion-windows belonging to the end of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century. Of thirteenth-century glass the well-intentioned but in this respect, at least, mischievous persons mentioned above have also left us but little. The coloured glass of this period was brilliant and jewel-like ; and a beautiful effect was obtained also by geometrical patterns formed in greyish-green glass, hence called grisaille, of which the "Five Sisters" window in the north transept of

York Minster, already mentioned, affords a fine example.

Nor, as a casual glance at these buildings to-day would suggest, was the stained glass their only colour-decoration. Fragments left here and there show the careful observer that moulding and sculpture were worked out in brilliant colour, and that the wall-spaces were clothed with fresco-painting; the figure-sculpture, stained-glass, and wall-painting continuing, as in the sculpture at Wells, the symbolic and pictorial teaching we have noted in earlier art.

After the centuries of ill-usage, both by nature and by man, to which the great works of Gothic art have been subjected, it is difficult for us to realise what they really were when their builders could declare them complete—so far as they ever were completed. Much of our admiration of Gothic architecture is as if we brought forward a skeleton in evidence of the majesty and beauty of the human form.

The Gothic cathedral, let us repeat, was in its mere structure ingenious and complex, and both beautiful and dignified in effect, with the added impressiveness of its mass and dizzy height of tower and spire. Its structural features were enriched with carving, and its purpose was proclaimed and enforced by figure-sculpture, which adorned it, though forming no part of its merely utilitarian design. And beyond this, in the interior it was enriched with painting and lighted by windows that glowed or flamed in shade or sun with brilliant colour, and both wall and window were “storied” as well as “richly dight.”

It had also furniture appropriate to its use, hand-wrought in stone and wood and metal: furniture of chantry and tomb, echoing in miniature the architecture of the church itself, of choir-stall and pulpit, rood and rood-screen, of broidered hangings, of altar, and of vessels for the altar-service. And in whatever spirit of rivalry with other ecclesiastics and other craftsmen the work may have been done, it was still governed and inspired by



Chapter-house, Salisbury.

this main thought, that the builders were, in the old French phrase, *logeurs du bon Dieu*: house-builders for the good God.

The task of giving some account of the rise and nature of Gothic art has been made easier by taking separately the cathedral, the building in which it reached its highest development. But we must recollect that the cathedral of to-day was often a monastery-church in the first instance, and that neither cathedral nor abbey-church exhausted the demands upon the builders' skill.

Around the church itself were grouped the minor buildings of the monastery—cloisters, chapter-house, dormitories, refectory, and all the other buildings needful to men who were living their life apart from the world. The pointed arch and the vaulted roof were applied to these minor structures, and in construction and in decoration they shared the skill and the sense of beauty of the great church builders. The chapter-house may be singled out as a triumph of this skill and beauty. The Norman chapter-houses had been rectangular in plan. The Gothic builders substituted a hexagonal or octagonal structure, with a vaulted roof supported externally by buttresses, and in the interior, in the earlier examples, by a shaft rising in the centre, as in the beautiful examples of Westminster and Salisbury. Nor does our tale of ecclesiastical architecture close with cathedral and monastery. The numerous parish churches throughout the country, large or small, took on the Gothic characteristics. In this country they were rarely vaulted as compared with the number so treated in France. But in their humbler degree they followed the greater churches in rise of tower and spire, in clustered shaft and pointed arch, in moulding, and in painting and sculpture.

We have seen that the Norman fortress consisted of the donjon, or keep, with or without subsidiary means of defence. The addition of lines of walls with projecting towers at short intervals became common at the end of the twelfth, and early in the thirteenth, century; a more complicated means of defence than the mere massive

walls of the keep afforded being rendered necessary by improved methods of attack. This change lessened the value of the keep, which, being, as we have seen, inconvenient as a residence, was in most cases abandoned and allowed to fall into disrepair ; while its place was taken, in the courtyard within the walls, by stone buildings along the line of the fortifications, for the owner and his family, with the great hall still the most important part of the dwelling, and by wooden buildings for the menials and serfs ; the towers or bastions along the walls being occupied by the officers or wardens. After the middle of the thirteenth century all the buildings in the courtyard were gathered into one block, and the minor apartments and offices were grouped round the hall. The living-rooms were made more comfortable ; flues and regular fire-places with stone hoods were constructed, and the windows were glazed.

The fortified manor-houses increased in number and shared in the development of the standard of comfort. They still had the feudal hall as the main feature, with one or more adjacent chambers ; the main buildings, and the minor buildings which lined the courtyard, being surrounded by a moat ; the one approach being by drawbridge and gate-house. Fine examples still remaining of this type of building are the Castles of Aydon in Northumberland, and Stokesay and Acton Burnell in Shropshire, and the Hall at Winchester.

The great majority of the smaller houses were still of wood, but, like the larger ones, had increased in comfort.

Sculpture and painting apart from architecture

did not yet exist, except, as to painting, in the minor form of illumination, which continued to be practised in the scriptorium, or writing-room, of the monastery, for service, and other, books of ecclesiastical use, and for the work of the chronicler. With reference to other minor arts we must only emphasise what has already been said of the freedom from conditions of mechanical production under which they were practised, rendering the work of the wood carver and of the workers in different metals and the makers of fabrics fine as well as useful art to a far greater degree than in modern times.

## CHAPTER VII

### GOTHIC ART IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

WE have mapped out our study of Gothic art by centuries ; not, as we have said, that art is kind enough to accommodate itself closely to our systems of chronology, but because it happens that we do reckon by centuries, which therefore become landmarks to us, and because, happily, certain tendencies of art did reach their climax at intervals of about one hundred years, so as to be not unfittingly described as thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century art. Thus Gothic art, we may say, if the figure be not taken too literally, having its birth in the twelfth century, reached its strong, early manhood in the thirteenth, lost something of its vigour in the fourteenth, passed into its last active stage in the fifteenth, and slowly died in the course of the sixteenth, century.

No important structural change marks its progress through the fourteenth century, none, at least, sufficiently important to require mention here. The name given to the architecture of the period—Decorated—describes the nature of such change as did take place.

The most obvious, and perhaps most important, change was in the window. The early Gothic had substituted the narrow pointed window for the broader, round-headed window of the Norman. Two or more of these windows were sometimes grouped together and enclosed within a large encircling arch. When this was done a blank space of wall was left between the top of the windows and the under side of the larger arch. In the attempt to relieve the heaviness of this blank space we have the beginnings of window-tracery. Even in the Norman period, as early as 1145, in the triforium of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral, the space between two round-arched windows and a larger enclosing arch above them is pierced with small circular openings. This plate-tracery, as it is now called, was carried on into the early English period, and the number of the openings was gradually increased and their form varied.

But by the middle of the thirteenth century this simple expedient was superseded by the division of the window-lights by perpendicular bars, called mullions, instead of by mere thin spaces of wall; and these mullions, as they approached the upper part of the window, branched off so as to form various geometrical figures, such as circles, trefoils, and quatrefoils; and, a practically inex-

haustible change of forms and of arrangement of forms being possible, this tracery, known now as bar-tracery, became very elaborate and varied, and made so great a difference in the appearance of the building as to justify the important place we have claimed for it as perhaps the chief distinguishing feature of the Decorated period. A further development took place when the designer, ceasing to make the spaces or penetrations enclosed within the stone-work his first consideration, thought first of the forms of the stone-work itself, and worked the upper part of the mullions into variously curving forms, substituting, in the modern phraseology, flowing for geometrical tracery. Two of the finest examples of this style are the west window of York Minster and the east window of Carlisle Cathedral.

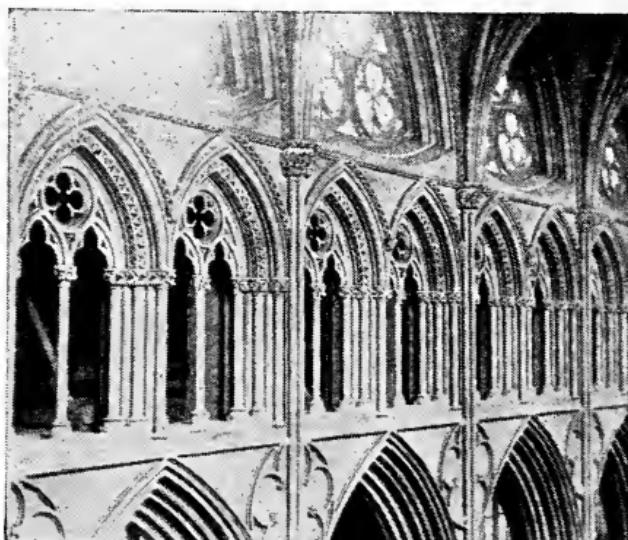
Mr. Ruskin, who deplored this last-named change, called it "the substitution of the line for the mass, as the element of decoration." In this he saw a departure from truth. "The reader will observe," he says in "The Seven Lamps of Architecture," "that, up to the last expansion of the penetrations, the stone-work was necessarily considered, as it actually is, *stiff*, and unyielding. It was so, also, during the pause of which I have spoken, when the forms of the tracery were still severe and pure; delicate indeed, but perfectly firm. At the close of the period of pause, the first sign of serious change was like a low breeze, passing through the emaciated tracery, and making it tremble. It began to undulate like the threads of a cobweb lifted by the wind. It lost its essence as a structure of stone. Reduced to the slenderness

of threads, it began to be considered as possessing also their flexibility. The architect was pleased with his new fancy, and set himself to carry it out; and in a little time, the bars of tracery were caused to appear to the eye as if they had been woven together like a net. This was a change which sacrificed a great principle of truth; it sacrificed the expression of the qualities of the material; and however delightful its results in their first developments, it was ultimately ruinous."

But had not this change begun long before, in another part of the structure, when the simply recessed arch of the Norman was superseded by the moulded arch of the Early English? And did not this also, "however delightful in its results," carry with it the suggestion of flexibility? Surely one can hardly look at these beautiful Gothic arches, with the long curving lines of their mouldings, without feeling as if a flexible material were bent to carry the weight above. Indeed, the upward-springing effect that is so often instanced as one of the finest qualities of Gothic architecture is quite illusory, and "untrue" to the actual facts of construction. For the arches, pinnacles, and spires that "soar aloft" are, after all, only stones piled one on the top of another, each pressing down on the one beneath it. But we must not lose ourselves in the "metaphysics" and ethics of our subject, and therefore we will return to our plain narrative.

An increase in the number of the vaulting-ribs now enriched the interior of the roof, and, to be brief, if struck by the change, say, from the nave of Salisbury Cathedral to that of Lichfield, and

from Lichfield to the nave of York Minster, we look closely to find in what it consists, we shall find in the window-tracery, in the ball-flower and other ornament in the hollows of the mouldings, in the more lavish decoration of the capitals, in the elaboration of the bosses at the intersection of the vaulting-ribs, in the increased use of cusp



Nave, Lichfield.

and crocket, in the breaking up of the wall-spaces by stone-panelling, the reason of the richness of effect that pleases, though after a time it may cloy, and send us back willingly to the graceful, if somewhat austere, simplicity of the Early English.

On the exterior, the broad, traceried windows filled the space between buttress and buttress ; the buttresses themselves were crowned with crocketed

pinnacles ; wall-spaces, as in the interior, were broken up with panelling ; and the towers and spires shared in the enrichment of the body of the building.

In all this, architecture, even ecclesiastical architecture, did but reflect the altered spirit of



Choir, Lichfield.

the time ; for austerity and sternness were giving place to luxury and gaiety, heralding the Renaissance as an expansion of the change, and demanding the Reformation as a protest against it.

Signs were not wanting also that the close co-operation of the arts was not to continue indefinitely. The sculptured foliage became more naturalistic ; and in figure-sculpture the story represented was

more dramatically told by means of increased freedom of expression, gesture, and action ; while the subjects, even in ecclesiastical art, were not always drawn from sources held to be inspired.

The stained glass of the period, the finest of which is in York Minster, first becomes warmer through use of more yellow, and then lighter through use of more white ; brightness being sought rather than the "dim religious light" that alone came through the deep-coloured earlier glass ; and, as in the sculpture, the ornament becomes more naturalistic, and the figure-subjects become more pictorial in treatment.

Some of the finest and most beautiful Gothic tombs belong to this period. We may ask the reader, in parenthesis, to bear in mind the importance of the tomb all through the history of art. The covers of the twelfth-century tombs had been at first merely flat or coped stones, with crosses and other sculptured ornament on them. At a later date recumbent figures of the deceased, in high relief, were placed upon them, and were surmounted by a carved stone canopy supported by small pillars. These tombs, and the raised or altar-tombs, also surmounted by canopies, which came into use in the fourteenth century, were enriched in arch and pediment, in niche and pinnacle, with the characteristic ornament of the period. The finest of these elaborate monuments is the tomb of Edward II. in Gloucester Cathedral. The elaborate canopy over the tomb of Edward III. in Westminster Abbey is of wood, as also is the flat testoon over that of Edward the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral.

Another form of memorial that came into more common use during this period was the monumental brass, which consisted of large plates of brass, or of the mixed metal called latten, inlaid on slabs of stone, which usually formed part of the flooring of the church, though brasses were



North Transept Aisle, Hereford.

also used on the raised altar-tombs. The figure of the deceased was represented by the form of the brass itself, or by lines incised in it; or sometimes simply a cross or other emblem was engraved in the brass. The engraving is usually very beautiful in workmanship. It is uncertain where this form of monument originated; but England is the only country in which any considerable number

of examples of it now remains. The oldest complete specimen left is the brass of Sir John d'Abernoun, died 1277, at Stoke d'Abernou, in Surrey. In this, as in the brass of Sir Roger de Trumpington, died 1289, in Trumpington Church, Cambridgeshire, the figure of the knight is represented as clothed in the chain armour of the period; while in the brass of Sir John de Creke, died 1327, at Wesley Waterless, Cambridgeshire, we see the plate armour that was then coming into use. The incisions in the brass were filled in with a black resinous substance, and in some cases the background to the figure was scraped out and then filled up with variously coloured enamel, setting off the figure and the often beautifully decorated portions of the brass.

Among the most interesting of the minor works of architecture of this period were the elaborate and beautiful crosses, with figure-sculpture in niches, erected by command of Edward I. at the places where the body of his Queen, Eleanor, had rested on the way from Nottingham to Westminster. Of the fifteen original crosses only three, those at Geddington, Waltham, and Northampton, now remain.

The increase of the royal power had almost stopped the building of great private castles, which were superseded by the fortified manor-house and the moated grange. Only on the borders of Scotland and Wales was there now sufficient insecurity to demand an almost impregnable fortress as a residence. And on these borders was built, during this period, a remarkable series of castles—several of them royal castles—such as Caerphilly, Ludlow,

Conway, Caernarvon, Beaumaris, and Harlech, on the Welsh border and coast, and Alnwick and Bamborough, in the north. The keep had gone out of use ; the fortifications consisted of one or more rings of the walls with towers along them at intervals, which came into use at the end of the twelfth century ; the whole was surrounded by a moat, and sometimes there was also a moat between



Caernarvon Castle.

the different lines of defence, so that an attack to be finally successful must be carried through a series of defences. But in the courtyard enclosed within the fortifications were now the hall, chapel, and other altogether more commodious apartments, gathered into one block, in which we have already seen the germ of the sixteenth-century mansion.

In such buildings as these, and in the smaller, less strongly fortified dwellings, such as the moated granges, the release from all-engrossing con-

siderations of attack and defence gave greater scope to considerations of art. The hall sometimes occupied the whole height of the house, and sometimes had a low ground-storey beneath it ; and the wings had usually two storeys, or sometimes a tower with three or more. The hall-roof was of open timber, richly ornamented ; the windows were filled with the enriched tracery of the time ; wainscoting and painting were in use for the walls ; and in all the apartments the decoration and furniture showed the advance in the standard of comfort and luxury. But the times were still troublous, and there were wandering bands of marauders to be feared ; so the defences of wall and moat, gatehouse, portcullis, and drawbridge were still maintained. In the border-country many houses had square towers attached for defence ; and some houses were themselves towers, such as Dacre Castle, in Cumberland, and Langley Castle, in Northumberland, and they had their offices and defences like the manor-houses.

In the towns, the houses, still mostly of wood, had their gables towards the street, with the picturesque effect we know in Chester, Shrewsbury, and other places that have retained something of their mediæval appearance ; and the town houses also shared in the decorative tendency of the time.

Good work in figure-sculpture was still being done by English artists, who had been encouraged by Henry III. His tomb was Italian in style, but the bronze figures of himself and Queen Eleanor were modelled and cast in 1300 by William Torel, a London citizen and goldsmith.

Lucca florins, which were famous for the purity of their gold, were used for the gilding of the bronze. The effigies of Edward I. and Eleanor of Castille, and of Edward III. and Philippa, in Westminster Abbey, may be also named as figure-sculpture of the period.

There is evidence that fresco-painting was largely practised during this period ; but the merest fragments of it have survived, insufficient for any appreciation of its merits. Perhaps we may venture to picture it to ourselves with the help of the figures in stained glass and illuminations that have come down to us.

One contemporary portrait is still extant, a tempera-painting of Richard II., executed on a panel of jointed oak-planks. And the art of the illuminator, which had gone back in the thirteenth century, revived in the fourteenth, and some most beautiful work was done in England at this time. We may instance as fine examples the Arundel and Luttrell Psalters.

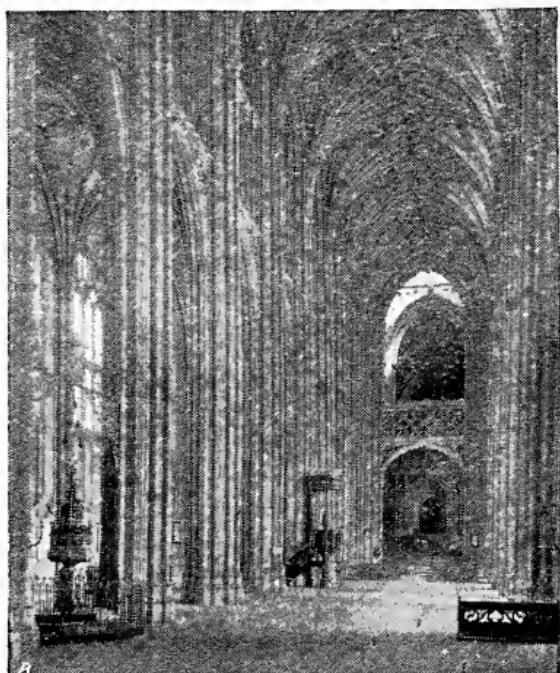
## CHAPTER VIII

### GOTHIC ART IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

THE Perpendicular style, which was the last mode of Gothic architecture, developed gradually from the Decorated ; the tendency to emphasise perpendicular lines, from which the name is taken, being already apparent in the middle of the fourteenth century.

The age of great church building was now nearly over, the demand being fully met ; and the

larger work of the ecclesiastical architect was limited to alterations of existing cathedrals and abbeys, such as the casing of the Winchester nave and the Gloucester choir with perpendicular work, the rebuilding of the nave of Canterbury, and the building of west fronts to such cathedrals as



Nave, Canterbury.

Winchester, Gloucester and Beverley. But the building of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and of the royal chapels at Windsor and Westminster, and the erection of innumerable parish churches, make this period not the least interesting and important in the history of our national architecture.

The emphasis of perpendicular lines suggests a recognition of the structural genius of Gothic architecture, which, as we have seen, the French expressed from the beginning. The vaulting-shafts were now run through from the base of the columns that carried the main arcade, and not merely supported by brackets in the upper wall, as in the earlier periods. The triforium, or second storey, almost entirely disappeared, being merged in the third, or clere-story, and the prevailing lines of the composition, as in the naves of Canterbury and Winchester, carry the eye upwards from floor to ceiling ; whereas, in such earlier buildings as Lincoln and Salisbury, the vertical and the horizontal lines compete for predominance in the effect.

The vaulting becomes still more elaborate, and ends with the fan-vaulting, so named from the fan-like appearance of the cone-shaped sections of the vault as they spread out from the top of the vaulting-shafts. The effect of this vaulting is often very beautiful ; but it is too frequently over-elaborate, and in Henry VII.'s chapel becomes fantastic in the use of heavy stone pendants, which, while having the appearance of needing support from below, and threatening to fall for lack of it, are, of course, provided for by unseen masonry.

The arch is still pointed, but has become flattened or depressed ; and, in sympathy with this change, the high-pitched roof disappears, and the sky-line of the latest Gothic buildings is usually the embattled parapet which crowns the walls. The spire also passes out of use ; and it is curious

to note that just when the emphasis laid on the perpendicular lines increases the apparent height of the interior of the buildings, the exterior loses much of the upward, soaring effect of the earlier styles, and becomes heavy and low in appearance, the horizontal lines of parapet on main building and tower controlling the composition, their strength emphasised rather than relieved by the meagre pinnacles that often stand stiffly above them.

In the windows, the mullions, which are now united at intervals by horizontal bars, called transoms, no longer bend away into beautiful tracery-forms, but continue until they are abruptly terminated by meeting the curve of the arch above. The window-openings become, indeed, only a transparent variation of the rigid mechanical panelling with which the buildings are more and more covered in the vain effort to obtain richness of effect by leaving no undecorated surface, but with the actual result of loss of dignity and breadth, and of the decoration largely defeating its own purpose by superfluous and monotonous repetition. The depressed arch is also used for the doorways, which frequently are covered by a square, moulded head, the form which was to supersede the arch in both window and doorway in the Tudor period.

The stiff, mechanical, unimaginative character of the art of this period has been attributed to the carrying off of large numbers of the best craftsmen by the Black Death. Whatever the cause may have been, the change is obvious, and is to be seen not only in the principal features of the buildings,

but also in the sculptured ornament, which not only ceases to be in close relation to the architecture, often looking like an after-thought to



Canterbury, from the South-west.

fill up a bare space, but also loses touch with nature, in forms such as that of the conventional Tudor rose.

We have referred to some of the principal build-

ings of the style. One of the earliest is the casing of the Norman work at Gloucester Cathedral with a screen of Perpendicular work. William of Edington began the same process at Winchester, and it was completed by William of Wykeham with magnificent effect. About 1380 Lanfranc's nave at Canterbury, having become ruinous, was pulled down and rebuilt. But perhaps the most typical examples of the completed style are the three chapels also already mentioned.

To the architects of this period we owe several of the finest towers in the country, including the one at York Minster, the magnificent "Bell Harry" tower of Canterbury, and the beautiful Magdalen College tower at Oxford. There is also a fine series of church-towers of this period in Somersetshire; and it was at this time that the great majority of our existing Gothic parish churches were built, thus rendering the Perpendicular style more familiar and homely to us than that of any other period.

The parish churches have also familiarised us with the panelled wooden ceilings of the time; while in secular architecture the open-timber roofs, of which the roof of Westminster Hall is an early and magnificent example, are a conspicuous feature of the period.

One example of figure-sculpture, and one only, stands out prominently—the bronze figure of Richard Beauchamp on his tomb in St. Mary's Church, Warwick. This fine work was modelled and cast by an Englishman, William Austin, of London.

The increase in size of windows goes hand-in-

hand with increased use of stained glass, and the art is still largely influenced by foreign examples. The glass has become much lighter. The figure-subjects, with canopy-headings, are carried across the window in horizontal bands, the painting is more skilful, with greater use of shading, and the figures are now admirably drawn. The glass in the choir of York Minster is of this period ; and at Fairford Church, in Gloucestershire, is a fine series of windows, which, however, are most probably Flemish or German work ; for tradition has it that they were captured piratically by one John Tame in 1493, and that he had the church built for their reception. They are very beautiful in colour, and practically fill the window-spaces of the church with a complete scheme of illustration, in which the twelve Apostles are balanced by the Prophets, the Evangelists by the great Fathers of the Church, and the Saints are opposed to its persecutors.

The fifteenth century saw the last steps in the change from fortress to palace and mansion. Elaborate fortification had ceased to be necessary, except on the border and near the sea, though some defence was still needed against the wandering bands of marauders mentioned in the last chapter ; so that manor-houses, parsonages, and other country-houses were still made to some extent defensible. In such instances as Thornbury Castle and Cowdray House the fortification was more for show than for use, while in the fine castle of Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, it probably had the double purpose of defence and display. In fact, the great houses of the period show an uncertain

state of mind in their owners, who realise that the days of the fortification of the private house are numbered, and yet, if only as one of the insignia of their rank, they can hardly bring themselves to dispense with it. In which, perhaps, the always thoughtful reader will see an instructive parable.

Houses of moderate size were still built of timber in the counties where timber was plentiful, or were half-timber—that is to say, the lowest storey was of brick or stone, while the upper storeys, often projecting beyond the lowest one with supporting corbels of stone or timber, were of wood. Where stone was plentiful the houses were now often built wholly of that material, and where clay was plentiful, of brick.

The discovery of gunpowder and the invention of printing—to which, as every schoolboy knows, rightly or wrongly, we are indebted for civilisation—each worked great changes in art, the former in architecture, the latter in book-illustration. The walled castle and the illuminated manuscript both held their own from the days of ancient Egypt to the fifteenth century, when gunpowder ended the one, and printing, the other.

Printing only came into use gradually after its first employment in Europe in the thirteenth century. It was first used for single-sheet prints, such as images of saints and playing-cards. It was, in fact, wood-engraving, the picture and the explanatory text, if any, being cut on the wood block. The earliest printed books, such as the “Biblia Pauperum,” which contained Biblical pictures with a few descriptive words, were in this form, and are hence known as block books.

In this rudimentary stage, printing could not be put to extensive use. But in the first half of the fifteenth century came the invention of movable types, by which each separately engraved letter could be used again and again, and the possible—and eventually the actual—use of printing was indefinitely extended. We are not concerned here to discuss the respective claims of John Gutenberg, of Mentz, and Lawrence Coster, of Haarlem, to the credit of this invention; nor must we tarry over the early history of printing in foreign countries.

Our interest in the new art begins with its introduction into this country by William Caxton, the first English printer, who, born in Kent in 1422, left England about 1441, settled in Bruges, and then, after varied experiences abroad, returned to England in 1477, bringing back with him the art of printing, of which he had probably acquired the practical details at Cologne when on a visit there in 1471. Before returning to this country he had been in business as a printer in Bruges in partnership with one Colard Mansion, and the two had produced the first printed book in the English language, "The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye," which Caxton had himself translated from the work of Raoul Lefevre, and "The Game and Playe of the Chesse," and "Les Quatre Derrennieres Choses." In London, Caxton took house, and set up his press, in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, and in November, 1477, issued the first book printed in England, "The Dictes or Sayings of the Philosophers."

Our purpose does not require a detailed account

of Caxton's work, nor of that of his successors, Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and others. Between 1477 and the close of the century no fewer than nearly 400 books issued from the English press ; and many of these were illustrated with wood-engravings, which, from this time, with the addition of other forms of engraving, take the place of hand-wrought illumination, which finally became extinct in the seventeenth century. Printing, however, long showed the influence of the manuscript work and of the later block-printing in the manner in which the illustrations and letter-press together formed a decorative page. But this unity was eventually to be lost, and the printer's work became little more than a "useful art," legibility being the only requirement. In our own day the attempt has been made to return to the old style, in which the book was itself a work of art.

Of Scotland and Ireland during the Norman and Gothic periods it is enough to say that their art was largely influenced by English example ; though foreign influences, due to political conditions, also came in. Each country shows the Norman and Gothic succession, as at Cashel, Drogheda, Dublin, Sligo, and elsewhere in Ireland, and at Kirkwall, Jedburgh, Dalmeny, and Leuchars for Norman, and Glasgow, Melrose, and Roslyn, for Gothic architecture, in Scotland. The development of the styles was later than in England, and the art, both in extent and quality, cannot compare with the art of England, so much earlier settled under a central government, and with a greater increase in population and wealth. As

in England, such sculpture and painting as existed, and the minor arts, were mainly in the service of the Church.

We have dealt with the military and civil architecture of England in the Middle Ages, chiefly to lead up to the modern mansion and public building, in which again, in the coming centuries, Scotland and Ireland, in the main, follow the lead of England ; and we need not dwell on the minor differences of mediæval secular art in the three kingdoms. In later times the three countries become in art, as politically, one : Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen working together, with local rather than national differences.

## CHAPTER IX

### ART IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

IT was said in an earlier chapter that from the fourth to the fifteenth century art followed in the wake of Christianity. The briefest backward glance over the way we have already come will show that we have had to notice but little art unconnected with the Christian Church. And this has not been because we have had to neglect secular art for any reasons of limited space, but because, during all these centuries, it was of quite minor importance. Architecture, sculpture, painting, and even the minor arts, were mainly devoted to the service of the Church.

But towards the end of the fifteenth century a change came—not a change for which there had

been no preparation, and of which there had been no warning, but which then openly declared itself and began to play an obvious and important *rôle*. It was part of the great intellectual movement to which the name Renaissance has been given, and which was heralded in the early years of the fourteenth century when Dante chose Virgil for guide in his imagined journey through Hell and Purgatory to the bounds of Paradise, thus evidencing a revived interest in the literature of the pre-Christian ages. And interest in that literature grew until it became an absorbing passion, weakening men's allegiance to Christianity, changing their view of the world and of man, and, aided by the work of reformers who left, and of reformers who remained within, the Church, revolutionising the intellectual life of Europe.

Like most great movements, it ran to excess and had its narrow and pedantic side. The literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome once rediscovered, no other literature and no other art were deemed worthy of attention. The effects, nay, the remains, of that narrowness and pedantry are still with us; but we can hardly resent them, for they were the inevitable conditions of our deliverance from the narrow view of the world into which the Church had drifted, and which is still with us in sufficient strength to make us grateful that the strength is at least impaired.

We have named the Italian, Dante, as a herald of the Renaissance, and in Italy the movement won its first and all-important success. Geographical and historical conditions sufficiently account for this. The Italian could never

forget the glory of ancient Rome ; and, further, when, in 1453, the Turks entered Constantinople and made an end of the Eastern Empire, flocks of Greek scholars poured into Italy, and the victory of the Revival of Learning was complete. We are concerned here only with its consequences for art, which, to begin with, were twofold : the imitation of classical forms in architecture, sculpture, and decorative art of all kinds ; and the choice of subjects taken from the pre-Christian literature and mythology for representation by the graphic arts. Brunelleschi, Alberti, Michelozzi, and other Florentine artists studied the monuments of ancient art in Rome, and set themselves to apply the principles and forms of classical art to their own work. Gothic architecture had never taken a firm hold upon Italy. It was unsuited alike to the local traditions and requirements. The glamour of the name of Rome was not, as we have said, exhausted, and a return of art to the forms of the glorious days of the past was hailed with acclaim. We have seen in an earlier chapter how, as a natural consequence of this new enthusiasm, the art of mediæval Christendom was now assailed with unreasoning, and therefore unmerited, contempt, and the epithet "Gothic" hurled against it, as against something hardly civilised. The Italian sculptors also studied the antique models ; and in painting, the very solitariness of Fra Angelico's rejection in the same century of the Pagan motives entering into the art of a nominally Christian country shows how powerful were the forces of change.

From Italy the Renaissance movement spread

to the other countries of Europe, reaching first, we hardly need say, those that were nearest to Italy, and therefore affecting France before it affected England. The way was clearer for the new art in France than in this country, for Gothic art had been exhausted across the Channel, with the general exhaustion of the country largely caused by the English wars; while here, as we shall see, the mediæval tradition resisted extinction until the early years of the seventeenth century. Hence, France was a full century earlier than England in accepting to the full in architecture the consequences of the Renaissance.

With the building of Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster the story of Gothic church building in this country is ended. Even this was but a Royal chapel. Of cathedrals and of abbeys there were enough; of the latter, so Henry VIII. determined, enough, too many, and to spare. The sixteenth century in this country is a period of church destruction, not of church building. And the arts of sculpture and glass-painting had been so closely allied with church architecture that they forthwith declined. The unity of the arts was broken; and even architecture, after a long period of steady growth, was left at the mercy, and still remains at the mercy, of contending fashions. Printing had made an end of the art of the illuminator; painting was an exotic, finding as yet nothing congenial in our soil; and for expression of the national genius in the sixteenth century, and for a glorious expression, we must look to literature rather than to art, to the work of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson

rather than to the work of artists, whose names it is a kindness not to place in unequal comparison.

Architecture still claims our first and longest attention ; but an architecture lacking the close alliance of sculpture and painting. This wide difference from earlier art does not become obvious by looking at our national monuments in their present condition, for, as we have already had occasion to say, even those of our cathedrals that are still in use are but little less mere skeletons of a former living beauty than the abbeys that the reformer despoiled and left to ruin and decay.

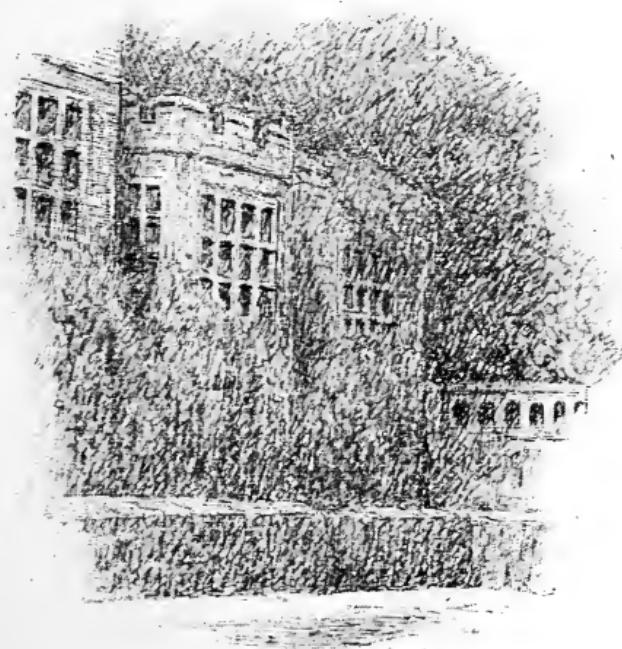
For the direction now taken by architecture we find a cause in the ecclesiastical, political, and social conditions of the age. Why there was no more church building of importance, we have seen. Political and social reasons conditioned the secular development of the art. The growth of the Universities, under the negative influence of the decay of the monasteries as centres of education, and under the positive influence of the revival of learning, renders the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge not the least interesting examples of architecture during this period. And the mansions of the nobility furnish even more conspicuous buildings. For the colleges, defence had never been a consideration, and their arrangement partly follows the monastery and partly the manor-house. But, as we have seen, the mansion changed its form with the gradual modification and final abandonment of mediæval fortification. The civil wars of the preceding century had wrecked the power of the nobility and left the king supreme ; and the invention of gunpowder not only revolutionised

the methods of attack and defence ; but by enabling the king to maintain a train of artillery at his disposal, rendered his supremacy complete. Freed, therefore, from military considerations, the mansion was planned with reference only to convenience and display ; having cast its military shell, it emerged, and faced the outer world.

With the decay of feudalism, the large hall, where the owner and his retainers dined, and where the retainers remained when the owner and his family retired to the solar, ceased to be necessary ; and though sometimes retained for mere display—as the fortifications had been similarly retained after their use was gone—it gradually shrank into the mere banqueting- or dining-room, while at the same time the solar expanded into the ladies' withdrawing-room, where also the lady of the house received her guests, instead of in her bedroom, as in earlier times. Mr. Parker sums up these changes by saying : “When, therefore, the drawing-room was enlarged, and other similar rooms probably added, such as a study for the lord, after the same manner as the boudoir for the lady ; when the kitchen and offices generally occupied the greater part of the lower storey of the house, instead of being erected apart ; and when, above all, the number of the sleeping-apartments was so considerably enlarged,—we can easily understand that little room in proportion was left for that large hall which hitherto had been the boast of the country mansion.”

In some instances, as at Ludlow and Kenilworth, the Tudor mansion was built within, or along the line, of the old fortifications, and then the various

buildings show all the changes that have taken place. The Norman donjon, or keep, remains, with windows of a later date inserted, and, as at Ludlow, with the moat still left. Traces are also left, in the courtyard, of the earlier buildings used when the keep was abandoned as a residence—the



Corner of Haddon Hall.

Norman chapel at Ludlow is one of the few circular chapels of the time in the country—and then come the more spacious buildings of the Tudor period.

Modified Gothic forms were still employed, and long resisted the invasion of classical forms. We still find the depressed pointed arch and traceried

windows ; and even when, as with increasing frequency, the square-headed window takes its place, mullion and transom still assert a Gothic derivation. Pinnacle and turret and ornamental battlement, and picturesqueness rather than severity of plan, hold their own throughout the century. Raglan Castle and Haddon Hall, Wolsey's buildings at Hampton Court, and his Cardinal's College—now Christ Church College—at Oxford, and Henry VIII.'s palace of Nonsuch, may be cited as early examples of this transitional style of architecture. Transitional, we must call it, because the coming of the classical revival is already clearly heralded in the decorative features of so many of its buildings.

The first important introduction of foreign craftsmen, of whom so many were brought here in this century, was in connection with Wolsey's work at Hampton Court, for which Giovanni Majano, one of the foremost Florentine sculptors, executed certain terra-cotta busts. But the building itself was the work of Englishmen, and is a purely English use of late Gothic forms. The same relation of builder and sculptor held good also at Nonsuch ; and subsequently Italian decoration was freely used along with Gothic structure.

Edward VI. was too poor to undertake any considerable work in architecture, nor was anything of importance done in the reign of Mary ; and we have to wait for the English expansion of the time of Elizabeth for anything needing to be chronicled here.

The great merit of Elizabethan architecture is picturesqueness. The architect had not as yet

emerged from the craftsman, and as all kinds of new motives were being introduced by foreign craftsmen, now principally Germans and Flemings, the Italians having left the country, the lack of a man of wide knowledge controlling the whole of the work often made the buildings failures in point of conventional style.

Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange, begun in 1556 and completed in 1570, may be taken as typical of, if not a new, yet of a widely extended sphere for architecture in large buildings for commercial, civic, and national use. The guild-halls of the Middle Ages, while both commerce and the towns in which it centred were still in their youth, had for the most part been comparatively small buildings ; but gradually the size and variety of secular buildings was to increase until we reach the almost endless variety in application of architecture of the present century, which, under happier conditions for art, would have made our modern cities and towns incomparably more magnificent and interesting than those of any other time.

The Exchange was indeed designed by a Fleming, and was thoroughly Dutch or German in character, but, in the main, architecture still held to the English tradition. The pointed arch had disappeared, to be replaced by square-headed, but still mullioned, windows, and the classical orders were used in doorways, windows, mantels, and other parts of the building.

The phrase, classical orders, demands a pause for explanation. In Greek and Roman architecture the column was surmounted by the

horizontal course of stone known as the architrave, and above the architrave was the cornice, the two being called the entablature ; and the different variations in the form and decoration of column and entablature are known as orders. In Greek architecture there were three orders—the Doric, simple and severe, the Ionic, more delicate and ornate, and the Corinthian, more ornate still. The Romans had their Doric and Ionic, adopted from the Greek, and a composite order, a combination of the Ionic and Corinthian. And the pedantic side of the Renaissance is nowhere more clearly shown than in the conclusion arrived at by its architects that these orders, because they were Greek and Roman, must be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth for them, and that no other forms must be thought of, much less employed.

Before illustrating this criticism we must instance one of those marks of that inferiority of Roman to Greek art to which reference was made in an earlier chapter. The Roman, as we then saw, made great use of the arch, which the Greek had shunned. But the Roman had developed no appropriate ornament for the arch ; and when he took over the arts of Greece, there, before his eyes, was the Greek columnar structure. He did what any one else would have done—for mankind gains its experience by making mistakes—he plastered the Greek structure over his strong arch-masonry as mere decoration, placing his columns on lofty pedestals, and carrying them up each side of the arch above the level of its keystone, there to give imaginary support to a sham entabla-

ture. If the reader will turn to the figure of the arch of Constantine on page 21, he will see this arrangement exemplified. It was entirely illogical; as absurd a thing as to wear one hat as a decoration to another. That it produces a certain redundant magnificence of effect need not be denied; but it is magnificence obtained at the cost of structural absurdity. This decoration was employed on all the great arched structures of imperial Rome, such as the Coliseum, the great palaces and baths, and the triumphal arches. But even before the arch of Constantine was built, another expedient was adopted by the architect of the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro: the column was used to carry the arch, instead of to decorate it only; and this practice, entirely ousting the other, prevailed throughout Europe until Brunelleschi and his fellows in the fifteenth century went back to the classical models.

Returning to our Elizabethan architecture to find how far this revival of an old manner had gone, we have only to look at the doorways of many an Elizabethan mansion, still in most features bearing evidence of Gothic descent, to find a round arch, with pillars carried up each side of it, and the sham entablature laid over all. Long before this, all trace of the Gothic manner had passed from the architecture of Italy and France. Not until the following century does the change become complete in this country.

As being among the most important buildings of the earlier Elizabethan style, with the least infusion of classical influence, we may name Penshurst, Knole, and parts of Haddon Hall. A

greater classical influence is shown at Longleat, Audley End, and Hardwick Hall, the great window-space of the last-named, so widely different in this respect from the feudal castle, having suggested the couplet :

Hardwick Hall,  
More glass than wall.

A certain Havenius of Cleves was probably the architect of Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange, and was certainly the architect of one of the earliest English buildings where the classical style prevails—the Gate of Honour at Caius College, Cambridge. Here a depressed pointed arch alone betrays the Gothic traditions of the country. For the rest, column and entablature, structural forms serving here no structural purpose, and the broad and shallow classical pediment, proclaim the coming slavery of architecture.

During this period the pictorial treatment of stained glass became more pronounced ; and the influence of the Renaissance is seen in the substitution of scroll-work of arabesque or grotesque character, derived from Italy, for the Gothic leafage. Most of the work of the period in this country was executed by Flemings, as in the case of seven windows in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral, imported from Herkenrode. There is similar glass in the Hanover Square Church, London, pictorial, but good in colour. The windows in King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which, though also pictorial, have not lost the best qualities of the glazier's art, colour and translucence, were probably largely of foreign design and make, though

Englishmen may have taken part in the work. But the earlier use of glass, with its relation to the architecture closely observed, had gone, the old unity of the arts was breaking up. Both sculpture and stained glass had ceased for the time to be English arts ; and we have seen that much of the



Gate of Honour, Caius College, Cambridge.

decorative sculpture of the period was also the work of foreign artists.

But little needs to be said of the sculpture of the sixteenth century. Henry VIII. had to look abroad for the skill that was lacking at home. From Italy came Nicola da Modena and the more famous Torrigiano, who had obtained notoriety, if not fame, in his own country by breaking the nose of Michael Angelo. Torrigiano had already

entered into a contract with Henry VII. for the erection of his tomb in Westminster Abbey, and that monument, with its dignified figure-sculpture, is his work. Benedetto Rovezzani, another Florentine, and Bernardi, a Dutchman, were other foreign sculptors who worked in England at this time. And as they awakened no emulation in any English artist, the century is a complete blank so far as any native sculpture of importance is concerned. And the tale we have to tell of painting reveals the same dearth of native art.

The mural painting, for which Gothic architecture had found a restricted place, had died out. The painter's art, apart from illumination and stained glass, had been represented in the fifteenth century by some indifferent portrait painting only. With the settlement of the country under Henry VII. and his amassing of a large fortune came the inevitable comparison with foreign Courts and the desire that the English Court should not be behind others in the patronage of the arts. But English painters there were none, and Henry had to send abroad for the men he needed. And the story of painting in England for the next two centuries is in the main a recital of the work of foreign masters.

The demand was chiefly for portraits, or for representations of royal processions and pageants. The divorce of art from religion was for the time complete, and the broad outlook of art on man and the world was yet to come. The blank caused by the lack of native artists was principally filled up by drafts from the Low Countries. Jan de Mabuse, of Hainault, appears to have painted here in the reign of Henry VII. Henry VIII., possessed of



Sir Thomas More.

[*Holbein.*

great wealth and fond of display, invited numerous artists to his Court. He endeavoured to enlist the help of Raphael and Titian, though in vain ; but several Italian painters settled here.

The great German, Holbein, also came to stay, and has left us a magnificent series of portraits of the chief actors in the drama of Henry's reign. For the first time we have portraits, not merely reliable, but penetrative, through feature and expression, to character and life-story, of the men and women who have done so much to shape our country's history. Glancing up from pen and paper I see the face of Sir Thomas More, as Holbein saw and drew it, and I read there the wisdom and the strength, the humour and the ready wit, but also—we will not say, alas—the sadness of one of whom his own age was not worthy. And so in the many other portraits painted and drawn by Holbein, those of whom we have read come visibly before us; we know them not merely for what they did, but for what manner of men and women they were. And if the end of life be character, the portrait painter runs the biographer close in the service he renders us, if we have eyes to see. But this pictured record of Englishmen and Englishwomen was as yet the work of a foreigner.

Guillim Streter, who painted in the reign of Edward VI., and by whom we have portraits of the young king and various notable persons of the time, was a mere imitator of Holbein. In the reign of Mary it is again a foreigner, Sir Antonio More, or Moro, who came over with Philip of Spain, that takes the leading place. In the reign of Elizabeth the portrait painters, who alone were much in demand—very much in demand with the vainest of our sovereigns—were still foreigners: Federigo Zuccheri, an Italian, and Lucas van Heere and Marc Gerhardt, of Bruges, being the chief among

them. The only English artists to acquire any distinction through all this time are the miniature painters, and here we have at last to record a distinct achievement.

Miniature painting had been practised by Holbein and other artists as a branch of their craft, but Nicholas Hilliard, born in 1547, of Devonshire parentage, made "painting in little" the main part of his work. He painted several portraits of Elizabeth, and also of others of the Tudor dynasty, which, however, must have been taken from earlier paintings. His example was followed by Isaac Oliver, born in 1556, and then came a succession of miniature painters, whose work, however, falls mainly in the following century.

Wood-engraving, of which we have seen the beginning in this country in the illustration of the books printed by Caxton and his successors, made little progress here during this period. In Elizabeth's reign John Daye published nearly all the illustrated books, including the Queen's Prayer Book, with a fairly good portrait of that so often pictured sovereign.

The introduction of picture-making by means of an engraving on metal from which is afterwards taken an impression in ink on paper is attributed to the Florentine Maso Finiguerra in 1423; and was suggested by the impressions taken from their decorative engravings by the early Italian goldsmiths to test the progress of their work. The art was extensively practised abroad long before it found its way to this country, where the earliest copper-plate engravings of any moment are those in "The Birth of Mankind," published in 1540;

while in 1545 there appeared a translation of the "Anatomy" of Vesalius, which, with the copper-plate engravings copied from the original woodcuts, was the work of Thomas Geminus. But the first English engraver of importance was William Rogers, born in London about 1545, who executed a series of portraits, including a full length of Queen Elizabeth from a drawing by Isaac Oliver.

English art, then, in the sixteenth century was, in most respects, at a standstill, or even, in some ways, declining. Meanwhile, abroad, not only was the architecture of the Renaissance everywhere supplanting the Gothic tradition, but the great Italian schools of painting, which were afterwards to exert such a profound influence on our art, as on the art of the whole of modern Europe, had reached their climax in the work of Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Raphael and Correggio, of Titian, Tintoret, and Veronese. Donatello and Michael Angelo had done in sculpture greater things than had been done since the days of Pheidias and his successors. Germany, in painting, had produced Dürer and Holbein—the latter kindling, as we have seen, such feeble flame of painting as was at this time possible in England. In Spain, Velasquez, born in 1599; in Flanders, Rubens, born in 1577, his pupil Vandyck to become almost an Englishman and to mean so much for English painting; in Holland, Rembrandt, born in 1616; and the Dutch landscape, genre, and portrait painters,—all these were soon to come, and were all eventually to take their share in moulding modern art.

## CHAPTER X

## ART IN THE STUART PERIOD

THE seventeenth century carries forward the art tendency of the sixteenth in the growth of Italian influence in architecture and of the foreign element in painting. Architecture is still the art in which Englishmen do their best work, for the Italian style was worked out here by Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren, whose work is not only the most important done in this country, but can challenge comparison with contemporary architecture in other countries ; whereas English painters played only a secondary part to the foreign artists whom our kings and nobles still found it necessary to bring over here.

The earlier years of King James's reign gave no sign of the coming triumph of classical architecture. Several of the buildings we have called Elizabethan are so in style but not in date, such as Hatfield House, built in 1611, Bolsover in 1613, and Audley End, which was not commenced until 1616. Some of these later buildings had thrown off much of the classical influence, while at Oxford there was a marked return to a purer Gothic style, of which the finest example is the staircase leading to the hall of Christ Church.

For the introduction of classical architecture was brought about in a very different way from the introduction of Gothic. The Gothic came as a growth, spreading from a neighbouring country and suited to our climate. The classical came as an importation : brought as a fashion, not as a

convenience and a necessity. Of two of its typical buildings William Morris says: "St. Peter's in Rome, St. Paul's in London, were not built to be beautiful, or to be beautiful and convenient. They were not built to be homes of the citizens in their moments of exaltation, their supreme grief or supreme hope, but to be proper, respectable, and therefore to show the due amount of cultivation, and knowledge of the only peoples and times that in the minds of their ignorant builders were not ignorant barbarians. They were built to be the homes of a decent, unenthusiastic ecclesiasticism, of those whom we sometimes call *dons* nowadays. Beauty and romance were outside the aspirations of their builders. Nor could it have been otherwise in those days ; for, once again, architectural beauty is the result of the harmonious and intelligent co-operation of the whole body of people engaged in producing the work of the workman ; and by the time that the changeling New Birth was grown to be a vigorous imp, such workmen no longer existed."

Morris wrote as an enthusiast for Gothic art, and as an advocate for a return to its principles, if not to its forms. To him the Renaissance —so far as it affected art, at least—was no legitimate child, but a changeling sent to deceive and mislead. But our most reputed historian of architecture, Fergusson, an enemy to imitation of classical and Gothic alike, says practically the same thing: "The great characteristic of the epoch [from the death of Henry VIII. to the accession of Charles I.] was that during its continuance Architecture ceased to be a natural

form of expression, or the occupation of cultivated intellects, and passed into the state of being merely the stock-in-trade of professional experts. Whenever this is so, it is in vain to look either for progress in a right direction, or for that majesty and truthfulness which distinguished the earlier forms of the Art."

We can point to the one man, the "ignorant builder" of Morris, the "professional expert" of Fergusson, who paved the way for the final abandonment of Gothic and the substitution of the revived classical architecture in this country. This man was Inigo Jones; and from this time forward our story changes from one of many men working together as a body of craftsmen led by the best men amongst them to one of individual men, known as artists, to distinguish them from the craftsmen, whose work they plan for them and superintend.

Inigo Jones appears to have been Welsh, and to have been born into a humble position in life. But he early showed taste for art and ability in its practice, and the Earl of Pembroke sent him to Italy to study art there. Of the good and of the evil of studying art in Italy we shall see many later examples. He there attracted the attention of Christian, King of Denmark, who invited him to Copenhagen as Court architect, and that king's sister, wife of our James I., brought him with her to England, where he was appointed her architect and inspector-general of the royal buildings. In 1612, at the age of forty, he returned to Italy to master more completely the principles adopted by the Italian architects. This says much for his

earnestness, but it also shows how completely he was enslaved to the new classical art.

The protagonist of the classical revival had been Palladio, for whom, and for whose work, Inigo Jones had the deepest veneration. Palladio himself was the modern disciple of Vitruvius, the literary exponent of the architecture of imperial Rome, and followed him in arbitrary and fanciful rules as to the use of the various orders, and so forth ; and Inigo Jones in time became the great exponent of Palladianism in this country. His actually completed work was not great in amount, differing in this respect from that of Sir Christopher Wren, to whom the Great Fire of London, amongst other things, gave so much greater opportunity. But in the supply of designs he was inexhaustible. His best-known work is the Banqueting House, now the Chapel Royal, at Whitehall ; but this is only a part of a vast design, the execution of which was prevented by the difficulties in which the Stuart dynasty so soon became involved. If his original design could have been completed, the result would have been the most magnificent Palladian palace in Europe ; the river front would have been 874 feet, and the façades facing Charing Cross and Westminster each 1,152 feet in length ; and with the exception of inadequate provision of entrance gateways the design was admirable and of great beauty, within the limits of the style, whose chief requirement is a sense of proportion which the architect both possessed and assiduously cultivated.

The Banqueting House, the only part of the design executed, is not without defects, but it

must be judged in relation to the completed design, and not merely as it now stands ; and it shows that Inigo Jones could get, by skilful balance and proportion of parts, well-nigh the maximum of effect out of forms which, consisting chiefly of oblongs and squares, have little or no variety or beauty in themselves, such as was the property of the infinitely varied curving lines at the disposal of the Gothic builder. His church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, again, has no interest beyond that of the redemption of plain and heavy forms by the virtue of proportion, and sets one thinking of what so great a designer might have given the world had he lived at a time when his undoubted powers could have been employed upon kindlier material. Other well-known works of his are the villa he designed for the Duke of Devonshire at Chiswick, suggested by one of Palladio's buildings at Vicenza, and Wilton House, Wiltshire, both of which bear witness to his originality in the use of his materials.

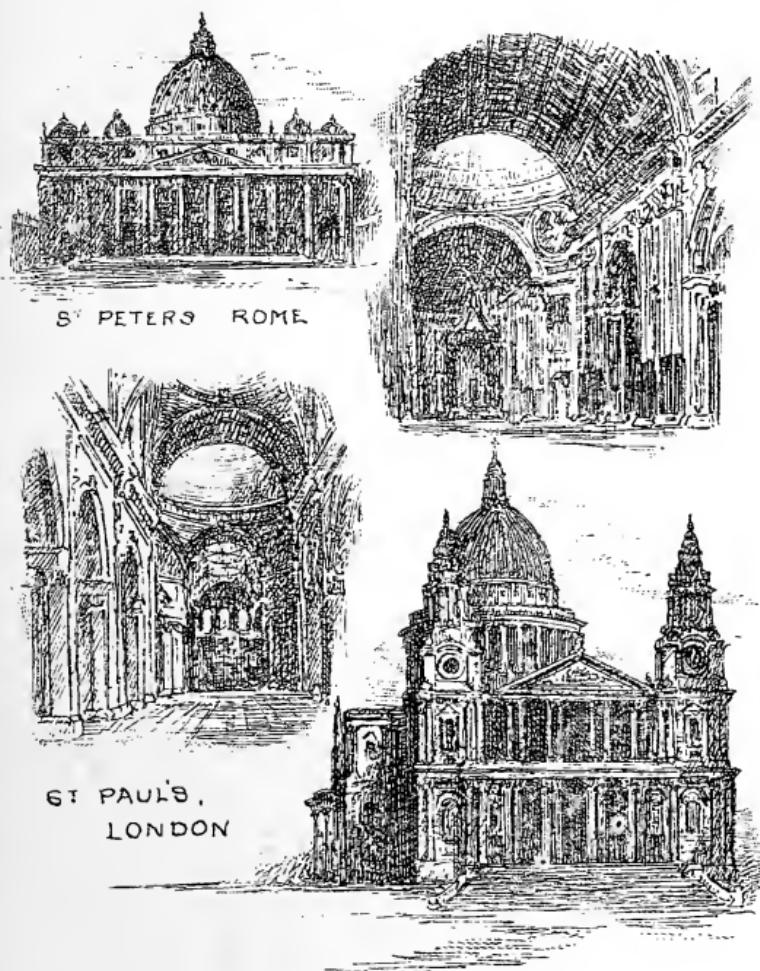
Inigo Jones stands supreme amongst his contemporaries, of whom we need only name his son-in-law and pupil, Webb, whose work at Greenwich Hospital has been attributed to his master.

Whether Inigo Jones or Christopher Wren were the greater genius we need not discuss here ; but Wren's wider opportunities have given him the greater reputation, and enabled him to leave a much stronger impress upon the architecture of his country. St. Paul's Cathedral would alone have sufficed for this. At Oxford he had earned a reputation both as a classical scholar and as a

mathematician, and his first leaning was towards astronomy. When and how he came to devote himself to architecture is not known, but it may readily be conceived that the problems of design and proportion which form so much of the work of a classical architect would naturally have an attraction for a mathematician. At any rate, he was but little over thirty years of age when he furnished the design for the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, in which he showed his mastery of his craft by executing the difficult task of roofing over a space eighty feet by seventy without using any central support.

He had already attracted the attention of Charles II., when the Great Fire of London—but for which he might have returned to mathematics and the physical sciences—recalled him from Paris to London to take the chief part in the rebuilding of the city. His plan for the laying out of the city as a whole was not accepted, and to this day London remains a maze of irregular and inconvenient streets. But, failing the execution of his great scheme, the amount of his work in London and its vicinity was enormous, including St. Paul's Cathedral, over fifty churches, a Royal Exchange, Marlborough House, Chelsea Hospital, and part of Greenwich Hospital, and such minor works as Temple Bar, the Monument, and the western towers of Westminster Abbey. He did other important work at Oxford, Cambridge, Hampton Court, Windsor, and elsewhere. It is obviously beyond our province to take so great a life-work in detail. Wren completed the work of Jones, and his genius would have gone

far to secure the position of classical architecture in this country, even had not its acceptance



throughout Europe rendered any further continuance of Gothic architecture an impossibility.

His largest work, St. Paul's Cathedral, may also be considered his greatest. It was obviously

designed with St. Peter's at Rome in view. The design actually executed was the last of several prepared by Wren, and even this was modified in the course of building.

The cathedral is too well known to need description here, and for detailed criticism the reader must be referred to larger works dealing with architecture alone. One or two adverse criticisms which have been urged against it may be mentioned. In the first design the interior would have had the great dome as the climax of a fine composition ; whereas, as it now stands, the worshipper is called upon to attach but secondary importance to the vast domed space which opens out at the end of the nave, and to concentrate his attention on a low and dimly lighted choir, of but little architectural dignity, considered in relation to that which precedes it. The exterior of the dome is one of the most beautiful features of the building, but here our enthusiasm is checked by the knowledge that the effect is gained by means that are hardly legitimate. For the outer dome is not merely the outside of the interior one ; there are, in fact, two domes, of which only the inner one is a self-sufficing structure, the outer one being supported by a timber frame-work resting in turn upon a brick cone, which also carries the weight of the crowning lantern. In these respects the dome of St. Paul's is in marked contrast with such domes as those of St. Peter's at Rome, and the Cathedral of Florence, where, although the structure is more than a mere single shell, there is still, to all intents and purposes, only one dome, what is seen inside being

practically the under surface of what is seen outside.

Wren's expedient has been as eagerly defended as assailed. One line of defence, that the Gothic vaulting also is covered with an outer roof, involves the discredited plea that two blacks make a white. Doubtless the Gothic style would have had a more perfect evolution had means been found for resting the external covering directly on the stone vault. But this was not done; and nobody with the merest elementary knowledge of Gothic art thinks, as he looks at the high-pitched roof of a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century cathedral, that the stone vaulting is immediately underneath it. But no one familiar with the great domes of the Roman Pantheon, Santa Sophia at Constantinople, the Duomo of Florence, and St. Peter's at Rome, and knowing nothing of the construction of Wren's dome, would think, as he looked at it from the outside, that it was carried by a timber framework resting on a brick cone, with a smaller dome beneath again, to be seen from the inside. *All* the great Gothic vaulted churches have the timber roof. But Wren's expedient was a departure—whether legitimate or not we need not bind ourselves to say—from the methods employed in the finest of the earlier domes.

Other adverse criticisms passed upon St. Paul's are that the west front gives no sign of the interior arrangement of nave and side aisles; and, again, that the architect was not justified in increasing the dignity of the exterior effect by the expedient of placing on the top of the walls of the side aisles another wall, which, while in reality a mere

screen, has the appearance of being the outside wall of the upper part of the building itself.

A greater defect than these, a defect of a different, a deeper kind, is that St. Paul's is more a work of the intellect than of the imagination. It awakens no emotion, but only respect for its size and for the cold beauty of its proportions. This is, in great part, a defect of the style itself. But the defect is so unusually prominent in St. Paul's that we realise it to be the work of a man "not to the manner born," in a country not to the manner suited. The condemnation of the Renaissance architecture in this country is written upon one of its earliest and most famous examples.

Perhaps the most beautiful of Wren's minor works in London is the steeple of St. Mary-le-Bow, Cheapside, which is often and rightly instanced as showing how near a classical can come to the grace of a Gothic steeple. But this steeple is a solitary masterpiece; the number of fine Gothic steeples is legion. For it must be confessed that the classical style does not readily lend itself to such work. The steeple is, in fact, inappropriately borrowed from Gothic art. There it is a fitting, almost a necessary, climax to the upward soaring lines of the whole composition. In a classical building it not only contradicts the horizontal character of the main structure, but itself lacks the unity of its Gothic original; for whereas in the latter the tower is a single base from which with one effort the spire seems to shoot up as if to invade heaven itself, in the classical structure there is merely the erection of a series of columned structures one on the top of the other, each smaller

than the one below, surmounted eventually with an insignificant spire ; and however skilfully the storeys may be linked together, the structure as a whole does not seem to spring up, but is quite obviously only piled up. And in no example besides Bow Church is the appearance of mere piling up so ingeniously minimised. There is too great a difference between the whole nature of the Gothic and the classical to allow the crowning glory of the Gothic composition to be brought into comparison with the classical imitation of it. The resemblance is a superficial one. But classical architecture can claim the dome which, as at Florence, even Italian Gothic finds such difficulty in appropriating. And with this great redeeming feature it may well remain content.

Details of Wren's city churches, with their varied use of the classical forms, are beyond our limits. The western towers of Westminster Abbey are defective in relation to their purpose, because a Gothic form is decorated with classical detail. Wren's most important works elsewhere have already been mentioned. His buildings at Hampton Court are marked by largeness, if also by some formality and poverty of treatment ; and a much more successful composition is the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, though this again is not without serious defects.

It would perhaps be unjust to Wren to describe him as an amateur of genius. But certainly he had not the profound knowledge of his art possessed by Inigo Jones, and, as we have seen at St. Paul's, the effect of his buildings is liable to be obtained at the expense of structural fitness ;

he fails, as one writer has said, to make the outer skin of his buildings express their inward anatomy. But his genius is undoubted, and both the quality and the amount of his work exercised an all-powerful influence on the future of British architecture. His life and work carry us over into the following century, and we shall deal with the work of his pupils and successors in the next chapter.

We have no longer, as in the Gothic period, to trace a vital connection between architecture, sculpture, and painting. Painting had now for more than a century pursued, and was still for two centuries longer—if not more—to pursue an almost independent course. Sculpture and stained glass had for the time become almost negligible quantities. Having taken over in servile fashion the main structural forms of classical architecture, the architects took over with no more freedom the motives of the classical decorative sculpture; and this is not the least of the reasons why their greatest achievements leave us unmoved, even when we are impressed. In the reign of James I. Nicholas Stone, who worked originally as a mason for Inigo Jones, developed powers as a sculptor, and executed many sepulchral monuments, including the tombs of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, which are, of course, in the neo-classical style. For in these monuments and memorials, column and entablature, wagon-vault and cornice, are now substituted for Gothic pillar and groined vault and pinnacle. Even our churchyards and cemeteries must deepen the sadness of death, rather than tell of life behind and beyond death, not only by

their cold, forbidding portals and chapels, but also by broken column and urn, substituted in a professedly Christian country for the symbols of the Christian's hope.

Of the two conspicuous sculptors of the later part of the century, one, Gabriel Cibber, was a foreigner, a Dane. He executed the bas-reliefs on the London Monument, and two striking figures of Frenzy and Melancholy at Bedlam Hospital. The reputation of Grinling Gibbons, this time an Englishman, rests principally on his wood-carving and beautiful treatment, in a realistic manner, of flowers, fruit, foliage, and birds; but he also executed figure-sculpture.

Painting made little progress under James I. Three foreigners, Paul Vansomer, Cornelius Jansen, and Daniel Mytens, are to the fore. Peter Oliver, the son of Isaac, and John Hoskins, both miniature painters, are the only Englishmen to record. Charles I. had an intelligent appreciation of art, and even amused himself at times with drawing and designing. His collection of works of art was one of the finest in Europe. The first of the great English collectors to whom our public galleries and museums owe so much had been Thomas, Earl of Arundel, who began to form his collection about 1615, and employed a clergyman of the name of Petty to obtain for him not only pictures, but statues, inscriptions, gems, and drawings. Charles I. inherited about 150 paintings collected by Henry VIII., and a few that had been purchased by Prince Henry. To these he added so largely that an unfinished catalogue prepared by Vanderdort, the keeper of his treasures, enumer-

ates no fewer than 460 pictures, including twenty-eight by Titian, nine by Raphael, eleven by Correggio, eleven by Holbein, sixteen by Giulio Romano, seven by Rubens, sixteen by Vandyck, and seven by Tintoretto ; while Rembrandt, Paul Veronese, and Leonardo da Vinci were all represented by more than one example. Following his master's example, the Duke of Buckingham also made a large collection of pictures by the greatest masters of the foreign schools, including many of those named above.

It is still the foreigners that hold the highest places among the painters. Charles induced Rubens to visit England and paint for him, but the great master remained only for a short time. His pupil Vandyck, however, settled in England, and we owe to him in portraiture what we owe to Holbein in the preceding century. Native painters of merit are, however, becoming more numerous, such as William Dobson in England, and George Jamesone in Scotland. During the Commonwealth there is little to chronicle ; but in the Restoration, though two foreigners, Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller, obtained most of the royal and noble patronage, English-born painters began to compete with the foreigners in larger numbers. Such are Henry Anderton, Isaac Fuller, and John Greenhill, and Robert Streater, whom Charles II. appointed sergeant-painter, and who painted landscape, historical, and sacred subjects. Miniature painting was continued by Samuel and Alexander Cooper.

But whether it be in the hands of foreigners or of native Englishmen, painting has not as yet,



*[Vandyck.]*  
Charles I.

except in portraiture (and even there it is for the most part mannered and artificial), boldly entered upon its modern career, in which a close and varied interpretation of life and nature becomes its most important and most fruitful work.

In the seventeenth century there was a general decline in the art of wood-engraving ; but the chap-books, or broadsides, though of little value as art, are interesting for their illustrations of contemporary manners. Several foreign line-engravers settled in England early in the century ; and then comes an Englishman, William Faithorne, who was a pupil of Nanteuil, one of the greatest of French engravers. Faithorne executed a series of portraits of eminent people of his day, including Mary, Princess of Orange, Queen Catharine of Braganza, Charles II., and, of greater interest than any of these, John Milton. The process of mezzotint-engraving, which was to become so peculiarly an English art as to be known abroad as *la manière Anglaise*, was invented about the middle of the century by Ludwig von Siegen, of Utrecht, and having been communicated by him to Prince Rupert, was introduced into this country in 1660 by that brilliant cavalier, who had already practised etching, and is known to have executed about fifteen plates in mezzotint. The process, it may briefly be said, consists in scraping smooth again, parts of a plate which has previously been specially roughened, when the printer's ink remains only on the unscraped portions of the plate, and the print taken from it consists, not of lines, but of darker or lighter spaces. The first native engraver in this

manner was William Sherwin, who produced a portrait of Charles II.; and Francis Place also executed several portraits.

The form of engraving known as etching, in which the lines in the metal plate are bitten in with acid, was first practised by Albert Dürer, and was the art in which the great Rembrandt showed unrivalled mastery. The first to practise it in this country was Wenceslaus Hollar, of Prague, who was brought over here by the Earl of Arundel in 1637, and his best work ranks high amongst the finest examples of the art.

## CHAPTER XI

### ART IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

At the beginning of the eighteenth century art had moved far away from the condition in which we found it for only a short time in the thirteenth, when, as we saw, it was almost entirely devoted to the service of the Church, and architecture, sculpture, and painting united to form almost a new complex art, around which the minor arts were gathered in humbler but still worthy service. But we have seen during the intervening centuries great intellectual, economical, and social changes gradually breaking up the fraternity of the arts and dividing their allegiance, and by the time at which we have now arrived, architecture has long ceased to be a natural development, sculpture is almost non-existent, painting, in the hands of foreigners, is mainly occupied in imitating the

older schools, and goes its way independently of architecture.

But in saying, with reference to Gothic art, that the arts in union had achieved something that they could not achieve separately, it was not meant that in pursuing each its own development they could not, at least as regards sculpture and painting, separately achieve results impossible for them when each was relinquishing the pursuit of its own ends for a joint success. For sculpture and painting in becoming architectural necessarily part with something of their individuality. Much less realism in gesture and movement is permissible to a sculptor working in relief on a wall, or carving a figure for a niche, than is permissible in a figure or group standing free. And the subtleties of perspective and atmosphere which may delight us in an easel-picture would be out of place in a wall-painting, which must never, by approach to illusion, draw our thought away from its close relation to the building whose higher functions it is the chief duty of the painting to express. Could the arts at the same time do equally well both their united and their separate work, they would be in an ideal condition of activity. But such a golden age of art has yet to come. And during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we have to be content to see first painting, and then sculpture, achieving fine results separately—finer, in some respects, as regards painting, than any achieved at any previous time—whereas architecture, proud and pedantic, tries what she can do without their help.

We have seen the final disappearance of such

national character as was retained by the Tudor architects, and, after the last flicker of Gothic art in the early seventeenth century, the complete triumph of the neo-classical enthusiasm, whereby the English architect became little more than "a grave copier of copies," such originality as he possessed consisting of the rearrangement of borrowed materials. The work of Wren carries us to close upon the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and thence, until the end of the century, we have little but variations of the architectural modes which first Inigo Jones, and afterwards Wren, inevitably swayed by the influences of their age, had introduced into this country. Adaptations of the Greek and Roman orders, or of the Italian modifications of them, are all that we may now look for. But in this England was but like the rest of Europe; for the lack of originality characterised the period, and not merely the one country.

We take up our story with the work of the pupils and followers of Wren. His most distinguished pupil was Hawksmoor, who designed a new quadrangle and towers for All Souls' College, Oxford, and in St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, gave one of the earliest examples of a church with a portico of columns, entablature, and pediment, after the manner of the Greek and Roman columnar temples. His church of St. Mary's, Wolnooth, in Lombard Street, subordinates all classical detail to massive and original forms; while from his St. George's-in-the-East nearly all trace of classicality has disappeared. "It shows," says Fergusson, "how unsettled men's

minds were in matters of taste at this period, that an architect should have produced three such churches so utterly dissimilar in principle: the one meant to be an exact reproduction of heathen forms; another pretending to represent what a Protestant church in the beginning of the eighteenth century should be, wholly freed from classical allusions; and the third, intermediate between the two, original in form, and only allowing the classical details to peer through the modern design as ornaments, but not as essential parts of it. It is evident that no progress was to be hoped for in such a state of matters, and that the balance must before long turn steadily towards either originality or towards servility."

Campbell, the architect of Wanstead House, Kent, the friend of the Earl of Burlington, who furnished the designs for the new Treasury Buildings, and, in collaboration with his noble patron, refronted Burlington House, and James Gibbs, to whom we owe St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Mary-le-Strand, and the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, were other distinguished followers of Wren.

To Sir John Vanbrugh, dramatist as well as architect, are owing two of the most famous Renaissance palaces in this country—Blenheim and Castle Howard; both of which, notwithstanding their imposing appearance, are spoiled by faulty proportions, and by the use, side by side, of orders of incongruously differing height.

After the immediate followers of Wren comes Sir William Chambers, who, born in 1726, lived to within four years of the close of the century.

His principal work was the remodelling of Somerset House, which is distinguished by but little originality and invention.

The brothers Adam, in such works as Heriot's College, Edinburgh, and Kedlestone Hall, Derbyshire, Robert Taylor, the architect of the Bank of England, and George Dance, who built the Mansion House, added to the long list of commonplace if respectable classical buildings.

It is significant of the backward gaze of architecture at this time that so many who practised the art wrote treatises on its history. Kent and the Earl of Burlington produced a work on Inigo Jones, Sir Robert Chambers a "Treatise on Civil Architecture," and Robert Adam a work on the Palace of Diocletian at Spatatro. Salvation was to be found in knowing, and basing the practice of the art on, the principles of bygone days.

The domestic buildings of the eighteenth century are still with us, and we are only too familiar with their dull monotony of plain brick or stone, doorway with square head, bare, square-headed window, and line of cornice for crowning ornament. Dullness, without the excuse of dignity, has replaced the picturesque variety of the Middle Ages.

It is a thankless task to have to refer to a beautiful art only to say that it has reached its very lowest condition. But upon such an evil day had the art of glass-painting now fallen. The capital instance of this degradation is the west window of the chapel of New College, Oxford, where the glass was painted by a china painter from designs by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and the aim being to make pictures as much like oil-

paintings as might be, there is the usual failure attendant on an attempt to do in one material what is only appropriate to another.

Architectural sculpture claims no notice, and a climate unsuited to the display of statuary in the open air, and costume that disguised and caricatured the human form, for a long time turned the sculptor away from interpretation of contemporary life, except in portraiture, to a vapid use of classical forms and motives.

In the reign of Anne, Francis Bird executed several monuments in Westminster Abbey, the statue of the Queen in front of St. Paul's, and the reliefs in the pediment of the same building. In the reign of George II., John Michael Rysbrach and Peter Scheemakers, both natives of the Low Countries, practised sculpture in this country with considerable success, working for such architects as Kent and Gibbs. Roubillac, a Frenchman, was a third foreign sculptor of the time, and his monumental work at Westminster Abbey and elsewhere shows him to have been a master of his craft, and capable of dignified and vigorous work.

After these foreigners comes at last a succession of English sculptors of considerable merit, the opening of the Academy Schools affording opportunities for study hitherto lacking, and giving considerable impetus to the art. That, after so long neglect, English sculpture should easily reach a high level was not to be expected. For the growth of a sense of form, understanding of the limitations of the art, and natural expression not unduly influenced by antique models, time was

needed. The work of Joseph Wilson, the second keeper of the Royal Academy, was heavy and lacking in clearness, but it shows remarkable anatomical knowledge and skilful originality. His principal work is the monument to General Wolfe, which reveals both his merits and his defects. Three of his pupils earned some distinction. These were John Baron, who is responsible for some of the least unsatisfactory of the many monuments in Westminster Abbey, Joseph Nollekens, a gifted, realistic portrait sculptor, and Thomas Banks, who designed several ambitious allegorical and historical works, largely under the influence of classical sculpture, of which he had a true admiration and considerable appreciation.

John Flaxman, born in 1755, has a greater reputation than any of his predecessors and contemporaries, and within his limits deservedly so. The son of a moulder in plaster in the employ of Roubillac, he spent his early years drawing and modelling in his father's workshop, teaching himself Latin, and poring over the classical literature which was to form the chief subject-matter of his art. A certain Rev. W. Mathew, seeing him at his studies, became interested in him and admitted the boy to his home, where his wife read Homer and Virgil to the young artist and student. Admitted as a student of the Royal Academy at the age of fourteen, he carried off the silver medal three years later, and began to contribute to the Academy exhibitions. His earliest success was won in modelling reliefs for the celebrated ware of Messrs. Wedgwood, work in which he showed remarkable skill and refinement. In 1782 he set up

his own studio, and found considerable employment in monumental work. Within five years his art had remunerated him sufficiently to enable him to visit Italy, and he remained there, studying and working in Rome, for seven years. During this time, besides executing several groups, he began the series of designs illustrating the "Odyssey" and "Iliad," *Æschylus*, and *Dante's "Divina Commedia,"* by which he is perhaps most widely known. Returning to England, he executed several monumental works, including the monument to Lord Mansfield and later monuments to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lord Howe, and Lord Nelson, and numerous monumental reliefs. In 1810 he was elected Professor of Sculpture in the Royal Academy, and his lectures, which were published in 1829, after his death, are a useful contribution to the literature and criticism of his art. His greatest success was in his work in relief, his long practice of which rendered him less at home in larger work demanding more vigour and largeness of treatment. But his reliefs are marked by great simplicity and grace in design, and his work went far to prove that England need not despair of success in an art which, more than painting, demands a sense of form, and also restraint within the severe limitations of the materials employed.

But the age, which was one of imitation and commonplace in architecture, and of promise only, though considerable promise, in sculpture, was one of great achievement in painting, which was the first of the arts to shake itself free from bondage to the older schools and assert its right to live its own life and do its own work in its own day, while not refusing

respectful regard, nay, even enthusiastic admiration, for the mighty achievements of the men of earlier times. And while architecture and sculpture were still, as architecture for the most part yet remains, in the imitative stage, painting had commenced its proper work of interpreting surrounding nature and contemporary life. And at last, in a great art-movement, this country took the initiative and went forward in advance of the rest of Europe, relying less than contemporary foreign schools, for subject and technique, on the earlier traditions ; with the twofold result of hitherto failing, if it be failure, to establish a school of painting in the sense of a body of traditional practice, and of succeeding, and the success is a great one, in reflecting and interpreting contemporary life and thought more fully and truthfully than any other school.

The rule of the foreign painter, and slavish adherence to tradition, received their death-blow from William Hogarth. It has often been said that England has not possessed and does not possess a school of painting. And in the sense in which the word school is often used of a particular tradition and style of painting this, as we have just admitted, is largely true. But in the broader sense of a large and continually replaced number of native painters doing work which merits attention, from the time of Hogarth, an English school of painting exists. The earliest successes of this school were won where some of the latest have also been achieved. The old connection of religion and art was, as we have seen, broken off, and a new one was long in being formed. All

attempts at sacred art were forced and unsuccessful. But some things worth having, came naturally.

Hogarth laid the foundation of the observation of contemporary men and manners. His work is often criticised as if, because he aimed at being a moralist, he became something less as an artist than he would otherwise have been. Theories of what might have been are difficult both of proof and of disproof. The criticism is often advanced by men who are always ready to blame an artist for having any moral purpose in his work, and always ready to excuse him if his work be, if not immoral, at least of doubtful tendency. And the argument is usually an *a priori*, "must be so," not a safe induction from facts. The facts are that in technical ability Hogarth was ahead of most of his contemporaries, and that, having set himself to dramatic art, he treated his subjects with freshness and truth, arranged his groups well, gave to his characters appropriate gesture and expression, through which they clearly reveal themselves to us for what they are, and illustrated his subjects with a wealth of subsidiary detail that largely enforces his satirical humour. And when he did all this it is surely somewhat hard to turn and abuse him because he did not develop qualities not essential to the task he had set himself, and other qualities which only his successors acquired.

Hogarth's works are well known through engravings—in fact, most of them were painted with a view to their dissemination by engraving immediately after they were executed. He



“The Marriage à la Mode.”  
[Hogarth.]

moved about amongst all classes of people, and based his art on his observation of life. In the various series of pictures and engravings "A Harlot's Progress," "A Rake's Progress," "The Four Times of Day," "The Marriage à la Mode," and "Industry and Idleness," and in separate works such as "Strolling Actresses in a Barn," "The March to Finchley," "Beer Street," and "Gin Lane," and in the series "The Progress of Cruelty," and in the "Election" series, he satirised the follies and lashed the vices of his time. It is certain that he seriously aimed at a reformation of the habits of both rich and poor, and hoped that his pictures would, as Garrick phrased it in his well-known epitaph, "through the eye correct the heart." Of the value of such biting criticism of life we may have our doubts. At least, something more than nailing bad coins to counters must go to the converting of rogues into honest men, and to the eventual elimination of the whole genus rogue. But of the remarkable powers that Hogarth devoted to the accomplishment of the task he set himself there can be no question.

Strongly as he attacked also the conventions of art, he was not so entirely free from them himself as not to attempt in vain sacred and historical subjects, and to write about the ideal of beauty, and endeavour to produce it on canvas. Happily, however, for his influence on art, these attempts have little or no importance and extent compared with the pictures in which he expressed his strongest feelings about contemporary life and manners.

The painting of landscape for its own sake is essentially a thing of modern times. In the earlier schools it had been a mere background for the figures, which were always the real subject of the picture. But, gradually, interest in the landscape itself, and skill in rendering it, and its consequent importance in the picture, increased, until at last, in the seventeenth century, there came a turning-point when it is possible to reverse the order, and figures and architecture became mere incidents in the landscape, instead of the landscape being entirely subordinate to them. In the early days of this change the landscapes were treated conventionally, under the influence of their formal arrangement when used by the figure painters ; and, these being the days of the classical revival, nymphs and gods and goddesses had to appear by the stream and in the glade, and classical architecture was never very far away. The balance of landscape and figure passing to the predominance of landscape is illustrated by the works of the French painters Nicholas and Gaspar Poussin, the one born in 1594, and the other, his brother-in-law, in 1613, of the Italian Salvator Rosa, born in 1615, and above all by Claude Gellée, better known from his native country, where he was born in 1600, as Claude Lorraine, who made a great advance in the representation of sunlight and aerial perspective. The Dutch landscape painters of the same century, choosing their subjects from their own country and its sea-board, as their figure painters took their subjects from their friends and neighbours, painted with more freedom from conventional rules, and with more, but still inevitably

imperfect, realisation of the facts, and sympathy with the moods, of nature.

Early in the eighteenth century there were several landscape painters in this country ; but the first to earn any distinction was Richard Wilson, who, beginning as a portrait painter, adopted landscape on the advice of Zuccarelli. Painting first in Italy and afterwards in England, Wilson composed well, but saw and rendered only the general effects of nature. The more careful observation of natural fact and translation of the fact into art was yet to come. Ruskin, who found his pictures to be "in general mere diluted adaptations from Poussin and Salvator, without the dignity of the one or the fire of the other," admits in the same breath that "had he studied under more favourable circumstances there is evidence of his having possessed power enough to produce an original picture." English landscape painting was soon to derive its strength more directly from nature, but we may still hold the work of Wilson in high esteem. To quote Ruskin again, Wilson "paints in a manly way, and occasionally reaches exquisite tones of colour," and such qualities are not to be despised, either in themselves, or for their influence.

Wilson had pupils and successors : George Barret, Julius C. Ibbetson, and others, whom we must merely mention as links in the chain of landscape art in this country.

Portrait painting had sunk very low by the middle of the last century. Imitations of the imitators of Vandyck held the field. Then almost simultaneously came two painters who still hold

first rank among English portrait painters, and who, if not of the greatest, are still among the



[*Reynolds.*]

The Duchess of Devonshire and Lady G. Cavendish.

great, portrait painters of any country and age. These two men are Reynolds and Gainsborough.

Joshua Reynolds was born in 1723 at Plympton Earls, near Plymouth. His father, who was a clergyman, and master of the Plympton Grammar School, intended him to practise medicine. But before he had entered into his teens his strong love for art, and assiduous practice of it at every opportunity, determined his future career. In 1740 he was apprenticed to Hudson, then the fashionable portrait painter in London, with whom it was intended he should remain four years ; but within half that period he returned to Devonshire, having probably learned from Hudson but little that was worth the knowing. He then worked as a portrait painter at Devonport. In 1744 he returned to London and painted portraits there until 1746, when, on his father's death, he returned once more to Devonshire.

At Mount Edgcumbe, the residence of Lord Edgcumbe, Reynolds had the good fortune to meet, and attract the attention of, Captain, afterwards Viscount, Keppel, who, sailing to Italy in 1750, took Reynolds with him, thus giving the young painter the great advantage of adding to his own observations of nature and of life, and to such teaching as England had been able to give him, the study of the old Italian masters. He stayed about two years in Rome, studying and making notes of, rather than copying, the pictures there, and spent four or five months in other parts of Italy. It is significant, with regard to his earlier training in England, that at first he entirely failed to appreciate the old masters ; but he was wise enough to lay the blame on himself, not on them, and modestly to pursue his studies.

The colour of Titian and the grace of Correggio were the strongest influences he brought back with him from Italy. He soon opened a studio in London, and so rapid was his success that in 1755 he had no fewer than 125 sitters. The subsequent story of his life is that of a portrait painter working steadily at his craft, the average number of portraits he painted annually being about 150. As the result of this steady toil he has left us portraits of most of the leading men and most beautiful women of his time, and some of the most delightful pictures of children. His women are full of charm and grace ; his men have strength and character ; his children are thoroughly childish.

Technically, the work of Reynolds suffered because his age was unable to give him any secure training. His pictures suffered further by his disastrous attempts to rival the colour of the Venetian masters, and to obtain at once results to which their pictures had attained only with the aid of the mellowing effects of time. Many of his pictures faded during his own lifetime and in the lifetime of the sitters, so that he had jocularly to say that at least he "came off with flying colours" ; and one of his subjects, Sir Walter Blackett, vented his anger in the following epigram :

Painting of old was surely well designed  
To keep the features of the dead in mind ;  
But this great rascal has reversed the plan,  
And made the picture die before the man.

Redgrave in "A Century of Painters of the

English School," pithily summed up the merits and the defects of Reynolds. "Nature," he says, "intended Reynolds for a painter, and if she denied him form and delicate execution, she endowed him with such a fine sense of colour, tone, and breadth, as well as of character and of beauty, as qualified him to gain a world-wide fame in the pursuit of art."

The work of Reynolds's great contemporary Thomas Gainsborough, who was born at Ipswich in 1727, differed from that of Reynolds in several respects. In the first place, Gainsborough achieved success both in portraiture and landscape, whereas Reynolds, though making frequent attempts in the painting of historical and religious subjects, could only succeed in portraiture. Gainsborough, again, never had the advantage of foreign travel and study; so that his acquaintance with the works of the earlier masters was confined to those to which he could have access in this country in days when as yet there was no National Gallery. In his portrait painting Gainsborough was mainly influenced by the work of Vandyck, to whom he owes the silvery grey quality of his work, as distinguished from the warmer colour of Reynolds. He made no attempts to discover Venetian or any other technical secrets, with the result that his work has proved as permanent as that of Reynolds was too often fleeting. His straightforward technique enabled him to paint very rapidly; and we are told that he used brushes with very long handles, by means of which he was enabled to give the general truth of tint and form without descending into minute details.

When Sir Joshua, at an Academy dinner, gave the health of Gainsborough as "the greatest landscape painter of the day," Wilson growled out, "Ay, and the greatest portrait painter, too." We will not ask here if Wilson was right. But undoubtedly Gainsborough was the first genuine interpreter of English landscape. Wilson, even when painting in this country, was unable to forget the skies and the landscape of Italy and the formal compositions of Claude. Gainsborough's masters in landscape art were the Dutch painters, and the only natural landscape he knew was that of his own country, and he painted it because he loved it. That is not to say, however, that his love of nature was as intimate as that of the later landscape painters; there was as little "truth to nature" of the kind that Ruskin has since demanded, and the "pre-Raphaelite" painters and their successors have given, in his work, as in that of Wilson or any of their contemporaries. But no contemporary European landscape painter was as "near to nature," or had as simple and unaffected love for her, as Gainsborough.

Reynolds lived to see his popularity decline in favour of a younger portrait painter. But posterity has not confirmed the contemporary verdict, which Northcote expresses in saying, "Reynolds was not much employed as a portrait painter after Romney grew into fashion." Romney's dexterous painting is more superficial than the work of Reynolds and Gainsborough, both in technical quality and in interpretation of character. Born in 1734 at Dalton-in-Furness, in the remote corner of Lancashire on the farther side of Morecambe Bay,

he had but little regular art-training, and after saving a small sum of money by portrait painting in the north he settled in London, owing his rapidly growing popularity to a brilliant facility rather than solid and subtle workmanship, and to portraiture pleasing rather than profound. The story of his selfish desertion of his wife and children, and of his return home to be nursed by his wife in his last illness and meeting with no word of reproach from her, has often been told, and was made the subject of one of Tennyson's later poems.

We have seen that the time was not propitious for sacred art in this country. Nor was the painting of historical and classical subjects to rise to the level of the work of Hogarth, Reynolds, and Gainsborough in their respective spheres. Still, both historical and classical work that was at least respectable was done by three painters : Benjamin West, who, born in 1738, was Reynolds's successor as President of the Royal Academy ; James Barry, born in 1741 ; and John Singleton Copley, born in 1737.

West was an American of Quaker antecedents, who began as a portrait painter, came over to Italy to extend his knowledge of art, and after three years' stay there, settled in London. His best-known picture is "The Death of General Wolfe." It is somewhat difficult to understand the contemporary estimate of his work. There was, at any rate, one novelty in it—he ventured to represent modern characters in modern dress, casting aside the Greek or Roman costume hitherto held to be alone com-

patible with scenes and personages of historic importance. Reynolds himself doubted the wisdom of a change so obviously right to us that we with difficulty realise the force of the old tradition ; the pedantry of which, along with the pedantry of attiring statues of English kings in the costume of Roman emperors, is also a useful sidelight on the less obvious pedantry of slavish imitation of Greek and Roman forms in architecture.

Barry was an Irishman. Like West, he studied in Rome and for a longer period. His principal work was the decoration of the great room of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi with six huge paintings. He sought to illustrate the truth that the attainment of happiness, individual as well as public, depends on the development, proper cultivation, and perfection of the human faculties, physical and moral ; and the subjects of the pictures are such as "Orpheus Reclaiming Man from the Savage State," "The Victors of Olympia," and "Navigation ; or, the Triumph of the Thames." With many shortcomings, inevitable in the work of a painter whose country furnished no precedent for work on such a scale, Barry's paintings still hold a high place amid similar work of the English school ; though it has to be admitted that English painters have still much to learn in the alliance of their art with architecture.

The third member of this group, Copley, was an Irishman, who was born a few weeks after the arrival of his parents in New England, and who settled in London in 1775. But little systematic art training fell to his lot, and he did not visit Italy until much later in life than

West and Barry. This probably was not a disadvantage. Too many painters have vainly endeavoured to bear the heavy armour and wield the mighty weapons of the old masters. At any rate, Copley's paintings still attract by their greater freshness and truth. His best-known works are "The Death of the Earl of Chatham" and "The Death of Major Pierson," of which the latter deservedly holds the higher reputation. It represents a young English officer, who, while leading his troops against the French at St. Heliers, Jersey, falls mortally wounded in the moment of victory, while the man who has fired the fatal shot is immediately shot by the black servant of the major. The picture is truthful in the double sense that the surroundings were carefully studied on the spot, and that the scene is so faithfully and graphically depicted that no less an authority than the Duke of Wellington averred that it was the best piece of battle-painting he had seen.

Towards the close of the century Henry Fuseli, a native of Zurich who settled in England, endeavoured, with about the usual measures of failure and success that attend undoubted ability attempting tasks too great for it, to paint a gallery of illustrations to Milton as Michael Angelo might have done such a thing had he been granted the opportunity.

It was not to be expected that so early in its career English painting should meet with equal success in every direction, and it is impossible not to regard with respect and gratitude these painters who attempted such difficult tasks, though so often with such moderate success.

The animal world is too obviously interesting and picturesque not to have always had an attraction for the artist. Indeed, we have seen that the earliest example of pictorial art found in our islands is the rude engraving of the head and shoulders of a horse ; and all through the ages art has borne witness to the fascination that the myriad variety and the dimly understood life of the lower creatures have for man. When he was a wandering hunter man first pictured the horse, the reindeer, and the monsters of the prime. It was in the days of the mighty hunting-kings that the wonderful sculptures of lion and wild goat and burden-bearing ass were graven on the palace-walls of Assyria. And it was for the sportsman of the earlier years of the eighteenth century that our first modern animal painter, James Wootton, pictured the country gentlemen with their dogs and horses, and the dogs and horses alone, as worthy of separate portraiture, and men and animals together in the various stages of the hunt. George Stubbs and Sawrey Gilpin extended the range of animal painting ; but all these earlier men are chiefly interesting now as leading up to George Morland, who, born in 1763, and dying soon after the close of the century, worn out with reckless living, was an artist of very considerable power. The farm-yard was his subject : the picturesque farm-yard, before the days of model buildings and agricultural machinery and other useful, but hardly paintable, improvements. He painted its picturesque denizens, the old horse, the sheep, and the pigs, with appropriate surroundings, and tended by their often

very distinctly boorish—not to say animal-looking—owners. They were certainly not idealised by Morland—the ideal did not come his way, not being consonant with debauchery and bailiff-dodging ; but he painted the familiar dependants of man with no little sympathy for the pathetic side of their humble life, and his pictures are often admirable in tone, and not without some beauty of sober colouring.

Incidental mention has already been made of the Royal Academy. In these days of picture exhibitions innumerable, large and small, great and little, and the largest not always the greatest, the wearied amateur or critic may well cast an envious eye upon the days when exhibitions were well-nigh unknown. But paintings were not now in demand for wall-decorations, but as something—decorative or not—to hang on walls ; and painters could only live and work by inducing other people to buy their pictures for this purpose. And men were little likely to buy that which needed diligent search to see ; hence the demand for exhibitions. Some better organisation for the education of the painter, also, was needed than apprenticeship to a working artist or the poor private academies of the time supplied. The proposal to form a Royal Academy of Art dates from as early as 1724, when Sir James Thornhill made a detailed proposition to Lord Halifax. In 1745 Hogarth and seventeen other well-known artists presented some of their best works to the Foundling Hospital with, doubtless, both charitable and advertising intent. These works proved such an attraction to the fashionable world that St. Bartholomew's Hospital was similarly adorned, and with similar popular result. “The

artists," says Redgrave, "were elated by their success. They could not be expected to provide continued excitement for the public by the gift of their best works ; but having discovered that there existed a large love of amusement and novelty, if not of art, they were able so far to make the experiment subservient to their purpose, that from it arose the permanent establishment of annual exhibitions."

From a free exhibition in the great room of the Society of Arts in 1760, and an exhibition where a shilling was charged for admission in 1763, to an Incorporated Society of Artists for art teaching and exhibitions in 1765, and thence, on the dissolution of this society, to an academy which received the royal approval of King George III., and at the head of which he placed himself, were the stages in the evolution of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, which still performs the functions of its earliest days—the training of artists and the exhibition of works of art. Of the Academy so formed, Sir Joshua Reynolds was elected the first President, and it was to the students of the Academy in its earliest years that he gave the discourses which have added to his great distinction as a painter the distinction of a man of letters and a critic.

Not the least interesting chapter in the history of British art in the eighteenth century is that which tells of the rise and development of water-colour painting, which is, albeit, in part an older art than painting in oil. The tempera-painting of the earlier schools of Italy and Germany was more closely allied to the technique of water-colour than of oil. The work of the missal painter and illuminator and

of the miniaturist was also a species of water-colour, and highly finished water-colour drawings had been produced by some of the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century. But the art was to have in this country an entirely independent development from other beginnings and sources than these, and eventually to be so widely practised as to become almost peculiarly an English art. The humble initiator of this development was the topographer who produced for the antiquary and the publisher tinted drawings of ancient and modern buildings and of scenery. From these simple beginnings to a wide range of subject and a varied and subtle technique, in which eventually the drawing is merely the outline to be filled in with the full use of colour, the steps are easily traced. Such simple art and humble task left the artist free from the traditions of the schools and also brought him face to face with nature. Not that the topographer attempted any imitation of the intricacy of natural form and wealth of natural colour. The substance of his work was but a pencil sketch, with the local colour suggested by transparent washes.

Such was the work of Paul Sandby, who, being the earliest water-colour artist to achieve distinction, is often called the father of the art. But only late in life, and then under the influence of John Cozens, a much younger man, did his art get beyond the topographical limit. Cozens—who, therefore, has the better title to be considered the beginner of the new art—was the son of Alexander Cozens, a natural son of Peter the Great. His landscapes were more than tinted drawings, the light and shade were more fully rendered, and

though the colour is only as yet suggested, the drawings have an atmospheric quality, a delicacy and sense of mystery which carry them far beyond the work of his predecessors. Our foremost landscape painters, Constable and Turner, gave the highest praise to his art, Constable declaring him to be the greatest genius that ever touched landscape, and Turner acknowledging great indebtedness to his work. Contemporary with him were William Payne and John Smith, both of whom added considerably by their original methods to the resources of the art, which was carried still further by Thomas Girtin, whose name is inseparably linked with that of Turner. In his work the outline disappears, fulfilling its purpose merely as a means to an end, which are the broad masses and breadth of light and shade in which his drawings are conceived, though his use of colour is still limited. He was one of the little band of young artists who met at the house of Dr. Munro, in the Adelphi, there to have the advantage of the doctor's extensive collection of drawings by Gainsborough, Sandby, Cozens, and others ; of his knowledge, which was considerable, of the practice of these earlier men ; and not least, of his financial help.

Among these young painters were Girtin, Varley, Edridge, Linnell, and—eventually to outstrip them all—J. M. W. Turner, with whose work as a whole we shall deal in the next chapter. The doctor encouraged them to make sketches from nature, and in the course of these studies the step was taken from mere delineation to interpretation, and their art became “nature seen through the

medium of a temperament." Girtin died in 1802 at the early age of twenty-nine. It has been said that, had he lived, he would have been a serious rival to Turner. But he lacked one of the conditions of success which Turner possessed to the full—robust health and untiring energy. And a careful comparison of their work shows that already Turner had gone ahead of his friend and companion. For whereas Girtin's work was conceived, as we have seen, in light and shade, with a subordinate use of colour, Turner's, on the other hand, was conceived in colour, that is to say, he sought to give the true colour of shade and shadow as well as of light, and so adopted a new principle which carried the art to its final stage. Tinted outline, then, is the first stage, which Sandby exemplifies; light and shade, with colour added, the second stage, reached by Cozens and carried out with greater power by Girtin; and the full use of colour the third stage, which Turner was the first to reach.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of water-colour painting, not merely in the works so executed, but in its effect upon painting in oil. The greater directness of the method rendered study from nature much easier than in oil; but the added knowledge of natural fact thus obtained reacted strongly on the work of the oil-painter, rendering it in turn a truer and fuller interpretation of nature.

In 1804 was established the society now commonly known as "The Old Water-colour Society," with the purpose of holding annual exhibitions of water-colour drawings, as only one room was devoted to them in the exhibitions of

the Royal Academy ; and in course of time even this addition to the number of annual exhibitions has had to be supplemented to meet the requirements of the art.

The delicate art of the miniaturist continued to be extensively practised. Charles Boit, a foreigner settled in London, and learning the art there, and Bernard Lens, an Englishman, belong to the later years of the seventeenth, and the earlier years of the eighteenth, century, and were followed by many others ; in fact, the number of miniaturists is evidence of the great popularity of the art. The first Keeper of the Royal Academy, Michael Moser, and Nathaniel Hone and Jeremiah Meyer, and a little later Ozias Humphrey, all Royal Academicians, are distinguished for their practice of this art. But Richard Cosway, in the merit of his work, in his popularity, as well as in his extravagant vanity and eccentricity, is the leading figure among the miniaturists of the century. Born at Tiverton, in Devonshire, in 1740, he became at an early age the leading miniaturist of his time, and was a Royal Academician at thirty-one years of age. His wife shared his skill in the art. They both were fond of extravagant and luxurious living, and their house was a fashionable resort. Eventually they separated. After a luxurious life in Paris the wife became the superior of a religious house at Lyons, and lived to return to England and erect a monument to her husband, who had died at a ripe age, after becoming a Swedenborgian, and having—his own word for evidence—interviews with more than one Person of the Trinity, sittings from the

Virgin Mary, and possessing the power to raise the dead! His real claim to distinction is to have left behind him at death a large number of exquisitely worked miniatures, which are none the less delightful for crediting his sitters with better looks and greater charm than they in sober truth possessed. Henry Bone, and Henry Edridge, and Andrew Robertson, an Aberdonian, carried the art over into the nineteenth century, during which, however, it has steadily declined. Its place has been taken by photography, which, notwithstanding the assertion to the contrary of Robert Thorburn, who, following Chalon, was the last of the succession of miniaturists, can flatter, with the aid of judicious retouching. But the art is again being practised with some popularity and success.

During this period, though etching lagged behind, line- and mezzotint-engraving were extensively practised in the production of original designs, in the reproduction of pictures, and in book-illustration. Hogarth employed line-engraving for the dissemination of his painted satires and moral essays. Sir Robert Strange, William Woollett, and others used the same art to reproduce the paintings of foreign and British masters. Reynolds and his contemporaries and successors were fortunate in the band of mezzotint-engravers, including McArdell, Raphael Smith, S. W. Reynolds, Charles Turner, and others, who translated the painters' work into black-and-white. Hogarth had executed designs for illustrations to "Hudibras," and his friend Hayman followed with illustrations to Congreve's plays, Hanmer's Shakespeare, Smollett's "Don Quixote," and other works. In

the later years of the century Bell's edition of the British poets and Boydell's great project for a Shakespeare Gallery did much to encourage English engraving. Among the engravers who worked on Bell's poets, Stothard, whose unaffected grace and purity of style have won for him the encomiums of Turner, Ruskin, and many others, must be singled out.

Very different from Stothard was the visionary and mystic William Blake, poet, engraver, and painter, in all of which capacities he did work, at times of the finest, and at other times of the feeblest, kind. Some of his poetry, as in the "Songs of Innocence" and "Songs of Experience," is delightfully fresh and simple, so natural and direct as to anticipate Wordsworth's work in the same kind. But the mystical poems are often simply unintelligible. No description can give any idea of the strange, wild fantasy and, at times, extraordinary beauty of his illustrations to the Book of Job; and the mere title of such designs as "The Spiritual Form of Pitt Guiding Behemoth" is sufficient to call up a vision of weirdly imagined forms. If his great wit was near allied to madness it was none the less great, and he has had no slight influence on our literature and art. "His art," says Redgrave, "was too original to breed imitators, though it was not without influence even in that day, and we find traces of it in the designs of the period. This influence has grown from the effect it produced on the minds of younger men, such as Palmer, Richmond, Calvert, and Rossetti, who alike acknowledged their indebtedness to him, and praised his rare talent."

Wood-engraving, which had declined in the seventeenth century, was revived by Thomas Bewick, who was born at Newcastle in 1753; and, once revived, the art has since been continuously and widely practised, with great variety of resource. A close friend and observer of the animal-world, Bewick, and his brother and pupils who worked with and for him, have left a delightful record of his sympathetic study of birds and animals, rendering with great delicacy their form, and texture of fur and feather, as well as distinguishing their varied character and habit. In the latter half of the century and passing into the nineteenth century came the satirists Gillray and Rowlandson, who took up, in their degree, the work of Hogarth, and of whose successors, continuing without interruption to the present day, we shall be concerned in the following chapter.

The slightest sketch of the art of this country during the eighteenth century makes clear in what varied ways painter and engraver were now reflecting and interpreting contemporary life and thought. We must not attempt here any comparison of the technical accomplishment of English artists with that of contemporary foreign schools. The mere statements that the comparison need not be feared, and that it has indeed been made in our favour by foreign writers, must suffice. But that in no other country was art now the medium for an easier, more natural, more adequate and fuller expression of thought and feeling—of this, at least, there is no manner of doubt.

## CHAPTER XII

## ART IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IT might be said, with some show of plausibility, that the nineteenth century had done nothing in architecture beyond adding the imitation of Gothic to the imitation of the classical and neo-classical styles. But the Gothic revival was at the least the imitation of a style that was native to Northern Europe and had originally arisen in response to local needs in custom and climate and building material. But beyond this it might very well claim to be the revival of a style whose possibilities had far from certainly been exhausted during the brief centuries of its birth, maturity, and decline. The early years of the century gave no promise of deliverance from the tyranny of the classical ; rather they boded a tightening of the bonds. Dawkins and Wood's "Illustrations of Palmyra and Baalbec" in 1750 had increased the interest in Roman architecture ; and ten years later Adam's "Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro" had emphasised the influence of the earlier work. But only two years later Stuart initiated the study of Greek antiquities, and the fashion veered round from Rome to Greece ; and an architecture which, however well suited to the Southern peninsula, was wholly unsuited to our Northern clime, became the vogue in the early nineteenth century. And how many gloomy, forbidding buildings, however correctly copied in whole or in part, were the result ! At the best

these buildings were pleasing for their good proportions and their regular, symmetrical arrangement, never for the beauty of their component parts.

On his arrival from the north the observant visitor to London is likely enough to catch sight of Inwood's St. Pancras' Church, with porches copied from the porch of the Caryatides of the Erechtheum and a steeple copied from the Temple of the Winds, a far from satisfactory way of acknowledging the recent arrival in this country of the ruins of Greek sculpture now known as the Elgin Marbles. Sir John Soane's Bank of England, the National Gallery of Wilkins, Sir Robert Smirke's British Museum, and St. George's Hall, Liverpool, commenced by Elmes and completed by Cockerell, are all adaptations, with much slavish copying of detail of Greek or Græco-Roman forms. And not only churches and public buildings and large mansions, but dwelling-houses of moderate size must wear the classical livery, and their walls must be divided by engaged columns or pilasters, and before their doors must project porches guiltless of shelter alike against wind and driving rain. For propriety and pedantry are indifferent to both comfort and commonsense. Edinburgh must needs celebrate the Battle of Waterloo with an imitation of the Parthenon, and her Art Galleries must look like Greek temples; and Dublin and all other important and unimportant towns in the three kingdoms must be nothing if not in some forbidding form what was thought to be Greek.

The Gothic revival, like the classical revival,

had its origin in the work of the archæologist. Two centuries of neglect of the only style of architecture that could pretend to be national, and to have accommodated the builder's art to our local requirements, came to an end when Britton, in 1814, began to publish "The Cathedral Antiquities of England," and when Rickman, in 1817, published his "Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation." Rickman was an architect, and designed many churches and country houses in the Gothic style. In 1836 Sir Charles Barry, who, in true eclectic spirit, worked either in classical, neo-classical, or Gothic style, designed the new Houses of Parliament, in imitation of late Gothic forms, much of the detail being worked out by Augustus Welby Pugin, who, both as writer and architect, was a potent factor in the Gothic revival. The powerful influence of Ruskin, and more recently that of William Morris, have been thrown into the same scale, both of them contending that adaptations of the Gothic style are alone suited to our local climate and varied needs. Nor must we overlook the fact that the Catholic movement in the English Church, with its intense mediævalism, has had a great influence on our nineteenth-century art. Restorations of mediæval buildings we will mention, and pass by. The work in the Gothic style of later architects belongs to the present day rather than to history, and we must only mention here such men and buildings as the Assize Courts and Town Hall, Manchester, by Waterhouse, Scott's Exeter College Chapel, Oxford, and Glasgow University, Butterfield's Keble

College, Oxford, Street's Royal Courts of Justice, and Pearson's Truro Cathedral.

But none of the adaptations of earlier styles of architecture has hitherto been able to drive out the others and occupy the whole field itself. Nor has any new style or promise of a new style so far declared itself. Hence, in any town or city we may expect to find churches, chapels, municipal buildings, warehouses, dwelling-houses, or buildings of any other kind, in close proximity to each other and indifferently Greek, Roman, Gothic, or Renaissance in style, according to the taste or want of taste of the individual or committee for whom the building has been erected. So that a single street may look like a collection of samples of the architecture of all ages from the fifth century B.C. Mercifully we are with few and fantastic exceptions spared Egypt and Assyria and the remote East.

Architectural sculpture in the first half of the century was as imitative as architecture itself. For classical architecture and Gothic architecture alike, details appropriate to the particular period imitated in the particular building, were mostly in request. This was a mark of correctness and purity of style. And stained glass was in the condition of picture-making in crude and violent colour, its return to earlier and sounder traditions having yet to come.

The successors of Flaxman in figure-sculpture were Sir Francis Chantrey, who executed many dignified, realistic monumental statues, John Gibson, whose work falls into the two divisions of portrait-statuary and ideal classical sculpture, after the manner of Canova, with whom he studied, and Richard James Wyatt, Sir Richard Westmacott,

Macdowell, and M. L. Watson, who, with varying degrees of success, practised the art within the narrow limits from which so far it had failed to free itself so as to come into contact with contemporary life otherwise than through portraiture. Alfred Stevens, an earnest student of Michael Angelo, who, in addition to his figure-sculpture, was a master in decorative design, is best known by his monument to the Duke of Wellington in St. Paul's Cathedral, one of the most successful works of its kind ; and he has had considerable influence on the more recent sculpture in this country, which, however, comes on the hither side of the time when our narrative must end.

No more in the nineteenth, than in the eighteenth, century have painting and architecture been able to effect a close alliance ; and with but little exception the form in which we still have to enjoy the painter's art is that of the easel-picture. The kinds of interest that had dictated the subjects of the earlier painters were in the main those which their successors found pleasing to the public. Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir Henry Raeburn—a Scotchman who, not without precedent or imitator, settled in London—John Hoppner, and others, carried on the portrait painter's art. It is hardly within our scope to distinguish their respective styles and different degrees of merit. If none of them was a Reynolds or a Gainsborough, the work of all whom we have named was not unworthy to follow that of their great predecessors.

Born in 1775, his earliest work falling within the eighteenth century, but its greater part within

the nineteenth, Joseph Mallord William Turner stands out as the greatest genius in the history of English painting. A French writer has recently solved the difficulty of the appearance of such a man in such a country by saying that he no more belongs to England than a comet to any particular part of the sky. But we are not to be so easily robbed of Turner. The figure might have been a valid one had Turner, born of English parents, gone abroad in early life and there received the whole of his art-training. But his story is very different from this. He was the son of a London barber, and, with the exception of brief journeys to Switzerland and Italy, spent the whole of his life in this country. His first essays in art were drawings which were placed for sale in his father's shop-window. The first drawing he exhibited under more auspicious conditions was a scene on the south bank of the Thames, as was also his first exhibited oil-painting. When only fourteen years old he became a Royal Academy student, and another scene on the Thames was his first picture hung on the Academy walls. His earliest earnings were for colouring prints and washing in backgrounds for architects' drawings; and the first evidence we have of the originality and keen observation which distinguished his career is to be read in the story that he showed the reflection of the sky in the windows of an elevation he coloured for Dobson the architect, an innovation the conservatism of his master could not tolerate, and which led to Turner's dismissal. Topographical drawings of architectural ruins were then much in demand for antiquaries

and publishers, as also were drawings of gentlemen's seats, and in the course of executing such commissions Turner wandered over the greater part of the country.

English by birth, his genius and his training and the bulk of the persistent labour of a long life were English also. This is not to say that he learned nothing—he learned much—from painters of foreign schools. Along with an earnest study of nature went a study of the methods of other painters. Many of his earlier pictures are imitations of the works of such men as Wilson, Claude, Vandervelde, Cuyp, and Rembrandt. But in due time he ended his varied apprenticeships, having become a master of his craft, in some ways, as much as, if not more than, any of his predecessors, and having also acquired a far more intimate knowledge of nature than any of them.

Indeed, it is difficult to know which to admire the more in his work—its wonderful record of natural fact, or the marvellous way in which this natural fact is woven into lovely works of art. For with Turner, once past his early topographical days, to paint a landscape was not merely to imitate nature, or to imitate nature with some slight modification in the way of composition; every drawing, every picture of his, is a design in line, or light and shade, or colour, or all of them, in which the natural fact is in every detail subtly varied until it becomes as much a form of art as a musical composition. No other landscape painter tells us so much about nature, but it is always in the language of art; and we do not

know where else to seek for art so wide in range and so consummate in skill.

It is this wonderful blending of nature and art that has prevented Turner's work from becoming popular. The story of the lady telling him she could not see in nature the colour she saw in his pictures, and of his replying, "No, madam; but don't you wish you could!" well illustrates his attitude towards nature, and the attitude of the public at large towards his work. He took the poet's liberty of creating out of the world of fact a world of beauty and of the imagination, and only lovers of poetry care for Turner's work.

But the writer anticipates some reader saying, "Did not Turner's great apologist, Ruskin, say much about Turner's 'truth'?" Yes; but he did not say that Turner was truthful in the sense of being a literal copyist of particular scenes from definite points of view. His work differs from the work of most other landscape painters, not in possessing less art than theirs, but that in it more natural fact, more "truth," is used to an artistic end than in their work. But the artistic end is not mere beauty, it is interpretation. A definite point of view shows not the truth about a place, but only one aspect of the truth; and an aspect of the truth, if taken alone, may readily be only the half-truth that is little better than a lie. Turner tells us not what Dover, Scarborough, Richmond, or the Solway Firth looked like from a particular spot at a particular moment. He tells us what they *meant* to him. And we are only at the twentieth page of "Modern Painters" when we find that this—and more than this—is



[Turner.

"The Old Temeraire."

what Ruskin meant by "Turnerian truth." He says: "Imitation can only be of something material, but truth has reference to statements

both of the qualities of material things and of emotions, impressions, and thoughts. There is a moral as well as material truth,—a truth of impression as well as of form,—of thought as well as of matter; and the truth of impression and thought is a thousand times the more important of the two. Hence, truth is a term of universal application, but imitation is limited to that narrow field of art which takes cognisance only of material things."

This is not the whole of Ruskin's argument. It would be futile to try to do here what all the five volumes of "Modern Painters" were an attempt to do. And such questions as these are only raised here because, landscape-art taking such an important place in English painting, we cannot realise what English art has accomplished if we have not also realised that landscape means something very much deeper than "picturesque views." We have picturesque views in plenty; and many painters, and many who look at paintings, never get beyond this superficial interest in art and in nature; but to the true artists, and to Turner as eminent, if not pre-eminent, among them, nature and art are more than this. What shall we say they are? Goethe makes the Earth-Spirit in *Faust* speak of nature as "the living garment of God." Carlyle translates this as the garment that reveals God to us. Tennyson says that nature half reveals and half conceals the truth within. And such thoughts as these, and the emotions they awaken, are not forbidden to landscape painters, the greatest of whom have used their art to give expression to them. And,

beyond this, Turner could never so far lose himself in nature as to forget man. The way in which he crowds so many of his landscapes with figures has often been observed. They are almost invariably useful in the "composition." But they are more than this ; and it is worth any one's while to go through the whole of Turner's work merely to see the keen observation of, and wonderful interest in, human life that these figures evince. It is not adequate—for no one will think to sum up in a phrase the work of a great man—but it is at least suggestive to call the main subject of Turner's art, "The world as the God-made dwelling-place of man."

In the preceding chapter we have seen how, from mere tinted topographical drawings, he passed to a rendering of the full colour of nature. And in oil-painting he passed from light and shade to colour and light, and to a vain effort in his last years to give more colour and more light than material pigments could convey.

We need not follow him in his many wanderings through his own land, or in his few journeys abroad. A mere catalogue of his important—not big—works would exhaust well-nigh all our space, and it is useless to begin what we cannot end. Untiringly energetic and active, he was always at work—it is doubtful if he took regular meals in his own house—and his sketches, drawings, and pictures together, have to be counted by the thousand, and by thousands not a few. That he became a Royal Academician and Professor of Perspective in the Royal Academy is as important as to be told in estimating a poet's work that he was created Poet Laureate.

But these honours and an imposing funeral were a part of Turner's lot. He left to the nation the best part of his life-work, and needy artists would have had the benefit of his money, but the lawyers could not agree about his will. His character had its weak side, which his strength in other ways threw into unnatural relief.

Very different from Turner was his contemporary John Constable, younger than Turner by only a little more than a year. In Constable's work there is less of nature and less of art. But "the less" of natural fact was made to seem more, because the effects chosen were such as gave his pictures more the appearance nature has when we do not look too closely into detail; and "the less" of art added to this natural appearance by not representing a beauty in form and colour that nature may suggest but never fulfils. Constable gave the general effect of natural scenes, particularly in relation to light and shade. In his way of doing this he broke away from some long-established traditions of art, and offended the connoisseurs of his day. In some ways he was to Turner what Gainsborough was to Reynolds. Born at East Bergholt, in Suffolk, he never travelled abroad, and when once his style was formed, the landscape of his own county sufficed for him. His best-known pictures, such as "The Cornfield," "The Valley Farm," and "The Hay-wain," are of subjects found close to East Bergholt, and his "Salisbury Cathedral," if it takes him away from home, still keeps him in his own country, and amid not dissimilar landscape. In another respect also Constable differs from Turner. The latter hitherto has left no successor. Both his

knowledge of nature and power of transmuting nature into art have so far proved unique. The very limits set to Constable's work, combined with its undoubted originality, left much to be done as well as stimulated the doing of it. And the exhibition of "The Hay-wain" at Paris in 1824 had a profound influence on the landscape-art of France, and through France on the art of Europe generally, an influence which in its turn was powerfully to affect the later history of landscape-art in this country.

Meanwhile, though the names of Turner and Constable stand out pre-eminently, many other landscape painters of considerable merit and of varied style were at work in this country during the first half of the century. Sir Augustus Wall Callcott painted landscapes which, bright and carefully finished, ensured him a popularity denied to greater men ; and William Collins learned from George Morland an appreciation of rural scenery and life which, in such pictures as "Happy as a King," he treated with more refinement than Morland ; and his pictures easily became popular through the important part played by the figures, often of children, busy with nothing more serious than play. A painter of higher rank was John Linnell, to whom the undulating country of Surrey was what the flat scenery of Suffolk was to Constable.

Our purpose is not to record the names, and even ever so briefly to chronicle the doings, of all even of the principal painters. But at least bare mention must be made of a little group of painters who, with John Crome as their leader,

and including such men as Stark, Vincent, and Cotman, in the early years of the century became known as the Norwich school, by taking a little corner of England, and showing how great is the beauty of even the homeliest landscape.

That the sea should be all around us and not make its claim upon art would have been strange, and more than strange—impossible. Turner interpreted it in every mood—from calm to storm and back to the calm that follows the storm. And Clarkson Stanfield and E. W. Cooke also made the sea their life-study. Who that has seen it can ever again not see Stanfield's picture of the abandoned ship, shorn of its masts and driven helpless before the gale?

Water-colour painting is so largely occupied with landscape that the development of the art in the former half of the nineteenth century may advisably be discussed now, in immediate succession to our consideration of the work of the landscape painters in oil. Turner, we must recollect, was during these years executing that marvellous series of water-colour drawings, so rich in detail, and so great in number, as with difficulty to be conceived as the work of one man. And the number of artists who found the same medium the best for their landscape-work is so large that here we must do no more than remind the reader of the most eminent amongst them. None of them, perhaps not all of them together, had Turner's insight into nature, and they were all far his inferiors in art. And yet, between them, they have left a charming record of an England—some of them, however, also going further afield—as yet

but little sullied by railways, iron-works, and factories.

Principal among these artists we must name David Cox, born at Birmingham in 1783, his portrait and some fine examples of his work now appropriately finding a place in the Art Gallery of that city. English and Welsh landscape satisfied his artistic needs. He was attracted by the colour and broad tones of landscape, not by its detail. "No painter," says Redgrave, "has given us more truly the moist brilliancy of early summer-time, ere the sun has dried the spring-bloom from the lately opened leaf. The sparkle and shimmer of foliage and weedage, in the fitful breeze that rolls away the clouds from the watery sun, when the shower and the sunshine chase each other over the land, have never been given with greater truth than by David Cox."

Peter de Wint, born in 1784, was of Dutch extraction. His father was a physician practising in Staffordshire, and intended his son to enter the same profession; but, like Reynolds, he preferred art to medicine, and, also like Reynolds, he was happy in being permitted to follow the bent of his genius. He was a fellow-student of William Hilton, an historical painter whose failure we shall have to record later, and a visit to Hilton's home in Lincoln resulted in some of his best work being done in that neighbourhood, and in his marriage with his friend's sister. Like David Cox, de Wint found in English landscape all he required, never leaving this country, except for a brief visit to Normandy. His methods were even simpler than those of David Cox. There is no subtle technique

in his work, no skill as a draughtsman ; with broad flat washes he treated landscape as if it consisted of a few simple masses, without any intricacy of detail. But within its limits his work is very beautiful ; nature in it is translated into a few harmonies of tone and colour.

George Fennel Robson, born at Durham in 1788, was another of this group of water-colour painters ; the hill-country of the North of England and of Scotland being his favourite painting-ground ; while Copley Fielding, the son of a Yorkshire artist, and born in 1787, painted the broad expanses of the downs under effects of sun and haze, and also marine pictures, seeking breadth of atmospheric effect often at the expense of emptiness. Somewhat later Edward Palmer, who worked in oil also, and was an accomplished etcher, treated landscape with deeply poetic feeling.

Samuel Prout, born at Plymouth in 1783, was the schoolfellow of Benjamin Haydon. As with de Wiñt and Hilton, so with Prout and Haydon ; we see the one devoting himself to the painting of cathedrals and churches, old market-places in Normandy and Flanders, and the picturesque canals of Venice, with no delicacy of touch and only giving the broad aspects of the buildings, and yet with such obvious affection for his subjects that his work was popular in his own day and is still eagerly sought for ; whereas his schoolfellow lost himself in an ambitious striving after the grand style, and ended in despair and suicide.

William Henry Hunt, born in London in 1790, earned his reputation by his delicate

pictures of still-life, and such humorous studies of country children as "The Attack" and "The Defeat" and "The Brown Study." He painted with great detail and truth of colour, and yet without littleness of effect, and he had a fine sense of, and the faculty of rendering, the play of light. It is the delicacy of Hunt's work that leads Ruskin to refer to him as follows in the "Laws of Fésole": "You may think, perhaps, that a bird's nest by William Hunt is better than a real bird's nest. We indeed pay a large sum for the one, and scarcely care to look for, or save, the other. But it would be better for us that all the pictures in the world perished, than that the birds should cease to build nests." George Cattermole, born in 1800, chose romantic subjects, chiefly mediæval, for his pictures, in which brigands, knights, and ladies, in carefully studied costumes, play appropriate parts.

Returning to the painters in oil, we have to speak next of the genre painters—the painters, that is, of incidents of familiar daily life not having the kind of importance that we call "historical." Were it not for his moralising tendency we should speak of Hogarth as the first of these in England; but Hogarth used such scenes as a means to an end. The first of our painters to seek them for their own sake was the Scotchman, Sir David Wilkie, whose pictures soon became, and still are, widely popular through engravings, which is true generally of the work of the genre painter. Wilkie was born in 1785 at Culst, in Fifehire, where his father was the minister. Sketches and portraits exchanged for slate-pencils, marbles, and pens are the witness

to his schoolboy-love of art. At the Edinburgh Academy he studied art under John Graham, and at the age of nineteen, selling his first picture, "Pitlassie Fair," a remarkable work for one so young, for £25, he set out to try his fortune in London. And fortune soon smiled on him, for almost immediately his picture of "The Village Politicians" attracted much notice at the Academy Exhibition, and by "The Blind Fiddler" of the following year his fame and fortune were both assured. The mere mention of the names of his principal pictures, such as "The Rent Day," "The Village Festival," "Blindman's Buff," "Distrainting for Rent," "The Penny Wedding," and "The Reading of a Will," will be sufficient to call them to the mind of nearly every reader. The story is always graphically told, and he could illustrate it with abundant detail and incident, which he nevertheless knew how to keep subordinate to the principal theme. And in technique, in colour, form, and composition, his purely painter's work was of no mean quality.

But a visit to Spain in 1827 altered the whole character of Wilkie's work. He sought to emulate the old masters, being particularly impressed by the work of the painters of the Spanish school, and achieved but moderate success in the attempt, at the cost of abandoning a sphere in which he was easily a master. English art furnishes no better instance of the difficulty an artist has in preserving a wholesome independence and knowledge of himself and his powers, and of the needs of his contemporaries, when faced with the work of the giants of earlier days. We have seen the



“The Blind Fiddler.”

[Whistie.

art of architecture turned completely out of a natural development in this way. Modern painting may well be grateful to Hogarth.

William Mulready, whose genre-pictures have attained a popularity second only to those of Wilkie, was an Irishman, born at Ennis, County Clare, in 1786. Of him also stories are told—as of what artist are they not?—of juvenile precocity. His father and family removed to London soon after the birth of the future painter, and at the age of thirteen he became a student in the academy of Banks, the sculptor. A little later he became a student at the Royal Academy, and his art is said to have rendered him independent of his parents when he was no more than fifteen years old. After attempts at historical and classical painting, he found his life-work in genre-subjects, and, as with Wilkie, the names of his pictures, "The Fight Interrupted," "The Origin of a Painter," "Firing the Cannon," "The Seven Ages of Man," and "Choosing the Wedding Gown," will recall to many the pictures themselves, and if they do not, the very titles are sufficient to show the limits of Mulready's criticism of life. His art, in the technical sense, was of good quality, and ranks him among the abler and sounder painters and the capable draughtsmen of the English school.

In the same vein, and equally well known, are the works of Thomas Webster, "The Smile," "The Frown," "The Village School," "The Truant," "A Dame School," and "The Village Choir." Charles Robert Leslie, an American by birth, differed from Wilkie and Mulready in taking many of his subjects from literature, as in "Sir Roger

de Coverley going to Church, accompanied by the *Spectator*," "Sancho Panza and the Duchess," and a long series of well-known pictures illustrating the plays of Shakespeare. Gilbert Stuart Newton, another American by birth, and Augustus Leopold Egg, chose the same kind of subject as Leslie.

The work of these genre painters is a good illustration of the importance played by the "subject" in English figure-painting. The Dutch genre painters of the seventeenth century, who were in no small degree their masters, had been satisfied with the simplest and least dramatic incident; the English public asked for, and the English painters gave, pictures which were in the nature of short stories to be seen instead of read. This feature of English art, which continues to the present day, has met with much adverse criticism abroad, more particularly in France, as a confusion of the spheres of literature and painting, as an attempt to accomplish in one art what is much more readily done in another, and as a proof that we in England do not care for art, "for art's sake," but only as a means to an end. In England, M. de la Sizeranne tells us, "art has to be at once lofty and popular, it must teach the most philosophical truths, and teach them to all. It must raise him who produces it, that is to say, everyone, because every one ought to join in producing it, and it must elevate him who enjoys it, that is to say again, every one, because every one is called to enjoy it." Whereas, according to our critic, art ought to seek only the Beautiful, "the Beautiful without phrases, the Beautiful without inten-

tions, the Beautiful without a mission—as if there were anything in the world good enough for Beauty to become its servant, its interpreter, or its herald." It is an old controversy, not to be argued at length here. It must suffice to say that there are visible qualities of things, and visible signs of human character and animal nature, as of love, passionate resolve, purity, nobility, dignity, strength, delicacy—we need not choose carefully or extend the number of instances—and there is a whole world of the imagination, quite as paintable as Beauty, and which Beauty may well be proud to serve, to interpret, or to herald. But we are continuing, not ending the controversy. Art for truth's sake, and art for beauty's sake, there is surely room for both. At this we must leave it. And at least we have tried for a moment to see ourselves as they see us from across the Channel.

In the preceding century Wootton, Stubbs, Gilpin, and Morland, as we have seen, had made the lower animals the subject of their art. James Ward had continued their work in such pictures as "The Bull" and "The Council of Horses." In the latter picture we note a device frequently adopted by the painter we have now to mention, Sir Edwin Landseer, for, as the title suggests, something of human intelligence is credited to the equine councillors. But obviously the main purpose of an animal painter should be to paint *animals*; to draw the line clearly between animal and human nature—except, of course, occasionally, and confessedly "in play." Happily, Landseer understood animal-nature well enough to be able to overstep the line with safety, sure of return

at will to its faithful interpretation. So we can freely enjoy his broadest farce, as in the "Twa Dogs," his satire, as in "Jack in Office," and "High Life" and "Low Life," knowing that the same hand can give us "The Shepherd's Chief Mourner," the pathos of which is increased because the sorrow is so clearly not human; is what, to cover our ignorance, we call instinctive; is noble, because in one sense faithful, and yet sadder to our feeling than human sorrow, because, in another sense, it is sorrow without faith; and because the hope that is there, hope that the master will return, is one that must end in despair or, sadder still to us, lapse into mere forgetfulness.

We will not insult the value of the engraver's art, or the reader's memory, by giving a catalogue of Landseer's works. One more comes to mind, again a tragedy, and a purely animal one, "The Random Shot," where, out on the snowclad hill-side, the wounded deer has at last fallen over to die, and its young one seeks in vain the nourishment of a mother's milk. Engraving cannot "reproduce" this picture, for it cannot give the crimson blood-stains in the foot-prints in the snow. This is a cruel world—one wonders sometimes whether less or more cruel to the animals than to man. And even the animal painter can fulfil in no slight measure the great rôle of tragedy—he can purge the heart of pity and of fear.

Both the last-mentioned pictures tell a story, as the foreign critic might demur. But the story needs no title, and the momentary incident

depicted both explains the past and lays bare the future. There is here no trespassing on the domain of literature ; or if there be, then let us say that trespass is not always an offence.

With Landseer must be mentioned Richard Ansdell, who, born at Liverpool in 1816, devoted himself with success to the painting of animals, though showing less technical ability in his work than his greater contemporary.

In the eighteenth century English painters were most successful when dealing with landscape, animals, portraiture, genre, and, to a minor degree, historical subjects. And the nineteenth-century painters whom we have noticed so far, devoted themselves principally to the same class of subjects. We have now to turn to a number of painters whose subjects were drawn from classical literature, from history, and from the wide region open to the poetic imagination.

The first of these was Henry Howard, who, born in London in 1769, gained the highest honours in the Academy Schools, studied in Italy, and returned to England to paint such subjects as "Puck and Ariel," "Satan Awaking in the Burning Lake," and "Christ Blessing Little Children," with no more than the mere technical, academic success that his early proficiency warranted, though more than this had been expected of him. William Hilton, whom we have already mentioned as the friend of de Wint, was the son of a portrait painter of Newark, and was born at Lincoln in 1786. He was another "history painter," who achieved only moderate success in such subjects as "The Citizens of Calais De-

livering their Keys to King Edward III.,” “The Entombment of Christ,” “Mary Anointing the Feet of Jesus,” and “Christ Crowned with Thorns.”

Benjamin Robert Haydon, born at Plymouth in 1786, applied himself with great energy and dauntless courage to historical painting. If mere determination to succeed could ensure success, Haydon would have won it. But he lacked what is equally necessary, a just estimate of his own powers. He believed that he was destined to create a new epoch in English art by reviving historical painting on the grand scale, and failing to accomplish the ambitious task, he was driven through poverty to despair and the suicide’s grave. “Joseph and Mary Resting on the Road to Egypt,” “Christ’s Entry into Jerusalem,” “The Raising of Lazarus,” “Quintus Curtius Plunging into the Gulf,” many pictures of Napoleon—his own resemblance to whom in overweening ambition may have accounted for this particular choice of subject—such subjects as these show what he attempted, and failed to accomplish, notwithstanding the possession of undoubtedly great powers.

A more enduring name was won by William Etty, who, born at York in 1787, passed in due course through the Academy Schools, with less immediate success than many of his contemporaries who are now forgotten. He chose principally classical and Scripture subjects for his pictures; and we have such subjects as “Perseus and Andromeda.” “The Syrens,” “Cleopatra Sailing down the Cydnus,” “The Storm,” “The Eve of the Deluge,” and “David and Bathsheba.” The titles

of all these pictures—except “The Storm,” which, however, represents a man and woman almost entirely nude on a raft—suggest what is largely the fact, that they were selected because of the opportunity they afforded of painting the nude. And it was in his flesh-painting and in colour that Etty was chiefly successful. It is significant that, when in Italy, he was most attracted by the Venetian school, and made many copies from the works of Titian and others, and that he became so popular with the Venetians as to be elected a member of their Academy. In this country he was popular chiefly with his fellow-artists, his constant painting of the nude giving offence to the generality of his countrymen. He had set before himself a twofold ideal, based on his observation of the painters of the older schools—first, to paint great actions, and secondly, to paint the human form, and, as he said, “finding God’s most glorious work to be *woman*, that all human beauty had been concentrated in her, I resolved to dedicate myself to painting, not the draper’s or milliner’s work, but God’s most glorious work, more than ever had been done before.” And it is instructive to note that in the flesh-painting, where he could follow his own observation, he succeeded ; while in the painting of “great actions” on large canvases—greatness and largeness being commonly confused—where he had to follow tradition and academic rule, he often failed.

Haydon was a fine draughtsman of the human form ; Etty an accomplished flesh painter and almost a great colourist—Rossetti said of him that he taught the pre-Raphaelites nearly all they

knew of colour—but each of them was warped by the pseudo-classicalism and the search for the grand style, which, as we have already seen, were at the same time paralysing architecture and sculpture, and from which only those painters were free who were busy, not with the classics, the Scriptures, and history, but with—at the outside—modern literature and recent history, and the people and the country about them.

Within the safer limits of historical art just mentioned, and therefore with more success, painted Daniel Maclise, best known by his "Interview between Wellington and Blücher" and "Death of Nelson," designed for part of the mural decoration of the Houses of Parliament, and his "Play Scene in *Hamlet*." He was an accomplished craftsman, with considerable power of invention, though lacking dramatic fire and concentration. William Dyce, who like Maclise, Watts, Madox Brown, and others, took part in the competitions for designs for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, which were held just before the mid-century, is better remembered by his efforts to establish schools of design than by his own works. E. M. Ward, in such well-known pictures as "The Last Sleep of Argyll," "Dr. Johnson in the Ante-room of Lord Chesterfield," and "Marie Antoinette Listening to the Act of Accusation," John Phillip, in his Scotch pictures, and, more than these, in his magnificently coloured Spanish pictures, such as "La Gloria" and "Murillo in the Market Place of Seville," and Alfred Elmore in "The Tuileries, 20th June, 1789," and other historical and genre pictures,

met with enduring success, because, to put it quite simply, they painted what they really cared about, not what they thought they ought to care about.

But notwithstanding this many-sided activity of painting, there was the danger, or the appearance of danger, that its life might be strangled by academic conventions. Constable feared this when he prophesied in 1821 that within thirty years English art would cease to exist. But if the danger were there, it was obviated some two or three years before the fulfilment of Constable's gloomy prediction was due, by the easily stated, but not easily accomplished, remedy of a return to nature. This was the revival that, perhaps not quite justifiably, is likely to go down to posterity as the pre-Raphaelite movement; not quite justifiably, because the movement so called was only a part of the revival: life was stirring beyond its borders.

It is well, perhaps, to broaden our outlook at this point. We have seen that the Gothic revival, if only by another kind of imitation, yet by the imitation of something less formal and more congenial to our race and clime, had broken in upon the dull copying of classical art. In literature the work of Keats, Shelley, and Byron was done, and Wordsworth's and Coleridge's was well-nigh accomplished. But Browning and Tennyson were doing their best work, dealing directly with life, each in his own way, heedless of conventions; Carlyle was pouring forth his—certainly unconventional—prophesying and denunciations; and Ruskin, "having walked with nature," was measuring the painter's work with reference to nature's truth, in the sense we have already seen. Of the

stirrings in social and political life we need only make mention. And it would have been strange if painting, with Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Turner in its past, and all these influences around it in its present, could have quietly gone the way of academic dulness to an untimely death. Recollecting, then, that the whole is greater than the part, let us return to what was the most obvious sign of revival, the pre-Raphaelite movement.

Both its origin and its exact nature have been variously described even by those who took the leading part in it. And this is not to be wondered at, seeing that the whole revival was the work of many men and many minds, and was only temporarily and partially concentrated in the work of the men who formed the famous "Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," and who, widely differing in temperament and aims, soon went, each of them, his own way. The title of the Brotherhood, as is so often the case with titles, very imperfectly describes the aims of those who selected it, "not without some sarcastic spirit," as Mr. Holman Hunt, one of the leaders in the movement, tells us, "intending to reflect upon the use of the name of the prince of painters by artists of the day to justify their own flimsy and un-Raphaelesque art; but it had also a more serious justification in the conviction that Raphael's latest style, having been adopted, as that of an emulator, from the system built up with slow effort by Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, did not at last altogether escape those marks of decadence entirely unknown in the works of his immediate forerunners. This defect the

seekers after the second Renaissance traced to the remoteness of Raphael from those influences of the training of humility which the study of nature had directly or indirectly given in full measure to Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci."

The same painter tells us that before the formation of the Brotherhood, and while yet in his teens, having such thoughts as those stated above, he "determined, for his own part, to disregard all the arbitrary rules in vogue in existing schools, and to seek his own road in art by that patient study of nature on which the great masters had founded their sweetness and strength of style." And he also tells us that he found timely encouragement in Ruskin's appeal to nature in all vital questions of art-criticism. We have already seen that Ruskin, in his defence of Turner, continually insists upon his "truth"; and with Turner's close communion with nature in mind, Ruskin turned to the young painters of England, and, in the first volume of "Modern Painters," bade them "go to nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly, having no other thoughts but how best to penetrate her meaning, and remember her instruction; rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing; believing all things to be right and good, and rejoicing always in the truth." This passage is too often quoted alone, and taken as if it were meant to guide the painter throughout his career. But let us read on a little: "Then, when their memories are stored, and their imaginations fed, and their hands firm, let them take up

the scarlet and the gold, give the reins to their fancy, and show us what their hands are made of. We will follow them wherever they choose to lead ; we will check at nothing ; they are then our masters, and are fit to be so. They have placed themselves above our criticism, and we will listen to their words in all faith and humility ; but not unless they themselves have before bowed, in the same submission, to a higher Authority and Master."

We are not concerned here with the wisdom of this advice. But we can see how exactly it fell in with the spirit in which Holman Hunt was working. About the same time, Hunt became increasingly intimate with another young painter, John Everett Millais, who, having already at the age of seventeen carried off the highest honours of the Academy Schools, was setting out, as his earliest pictures clearly show, as an imitator and emulator of Etty. Hunt soon prevailed upon Millais to join him in the "return to nature." Another painter, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, was soon to join these two, and the three founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, associating with themselves James Collinson, a painter, Thomas Woolner, a sculptor, and W. M. Rossetti, brother of the painter, and F. G. Stephens, both of whom have since become known in the world of literature and criticism. Ford Madox Brown never joined the Brotherhood. Whether he was invited to do so or not is uncertain. The Brotherhood recognised the dramatic power of his pictures, but also saw that "they had too much of the grimly grotesque to render him an ally likely to do service with the general public." And Madox

Brown, on his side, disliked such societies as tending to cliquishness. The painter of grim grotesques cannot be said to have even yet become popular. But the man who has left us such works as "The Last of England," "Work," "Cordelia's Portion," "Jesus Washes Peter's Feet," and the historical paintings in the Manchester Town Hall, whatever weakness may have been involved in his revolutionary strength, cannot fail, with his masculine art-power and almost Shakesperian grasp of human nature and dramatic instinct, to take a high place among the creative painters of the English school.

In 1849 Hunt exhibited his picture "Rienzi," Millais "Lorenzo and Isabella," and Rossetti "The Girlhood of the Virgin." The pictures were well received, especially considering that the young painters, in their determination to avoid mere conventional beauty, erred on the side of stiffness and angularity, though not reaching the "grimly grotesque" stage. But the following year their pictures raised a storm of opposition, at which there is no reason for wonder. Three young men had set themselves not only against the public taste, but against the methods of the most accredited artists of the time. They made no attempt to conciliate those whom they were opposing; rather, with or without some youthful perversity, they provoked opposition by faults it would have been easy to avoid; and they had to pay the usual penalty in that their shortcomings hindered appreciation of their good qualities. In 1851 Ruskin came to their rescue with three letters to *The Times*, and sought to reverse the judgment

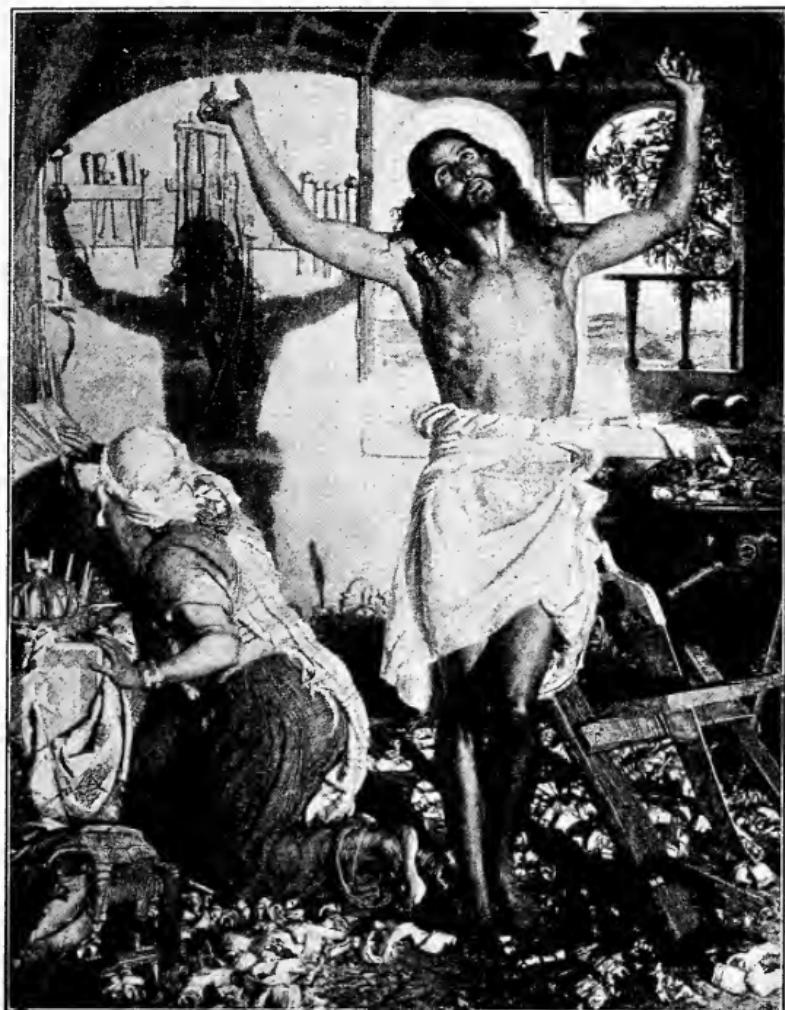
by pointing out the kind of merit, which, as he said, "however deficient in some respects, those works possess beyond the possibility of dispute."

The Brotherhood did not last long; there was, in fact, no sufficient basis of union. Literal fidelity to nature sat heavily upon Millais; he was only capable of it while under Hunt's influence. Rossetti was a dreamer; and Millais dreamed dreams also—when Rossetti was by. The one principle, certainly common to them, was that a painter should be true to himself, to his own observation, emotion, and thought; but this, though it might make each of them a revolutionist, was not sufficient to enable them to agree upon and establish a new constitution. To depart from the dull ways of academic tradition they were agreed, and hence we find them all, as a French critic sums them up, "new men, seeking for a new art, substituting unusual gesture for common and commonplace gesture, and pure, dry colour, simply laid and brilliant in contrasts, for colour broken, and strengthened by superposition—in a word, expressive line for decorative line, and vivid tone for warm tone."

It was in 1859 that Millais, in "The Vale of Rest" and other pictures, showed that for the future he was going his own way. Ruskin saw and, notwithstanding his earlier promise to follow wherever he was led, denounced the defection, but in vain. Freeing himself from the pains-taking example of Hunt and from the dreams of the half morbid Rossetti, Millais became the popular painter of genre, landscape, and portrait, we have known, generalising, not minutely imitating,

what he painted, reflecting in his work no longer the moods of another, but his own healthy, buoyant nature ; and ended his days the President of the Royal Academy, to which position he had been elected in succession to that essentially academic painter, Frederic Leighton. Holman Hunt has held consistently through a long career to the most literally accurate painting of every detail in his pictures, refusing to take into consideration the inability of the human eye to see distinctly more than one small object at a time, or other reason, as of artistic concentration, for any indistinctness, and choosing as the subject of by far the most important part of his life-work Christ and the surroundings of His life as He and they may actually have appeared. Rossetti, poet as well as painter, his work as a painter always suffering from his lack of adequate training, but none the less magnificent both in design and colour, also went his own way—the way of a celebrant of the love of man and woman enduring through life and in and after death.

To say what value the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had, merely as an organised movement, one would have to know what would have happened without the organisation. But, failing this, one may without hesitation think, as already hinted, that things would have been much as they are. The individuality of these men was not due to their founding a brotherhood, but the contrary. And Madox Brown, who did not formally join them, was not the least original of the group, and maintained his originality to the end. And altogether outside this group there was growing up



[Holman Hunt

*"The Shadow of Death."**(By permission of Messrs. Thomas Agnew & Sons)*

at the same time the great personality and art of a Watts. Constable's prophecy of the decay of English art was not to come true, not because

two or three brilliantly gifted youths set up the standard of revolt, but because the race that had produced Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Turner, and Constable had not exhausted its art-gift in the course of a century and a half. The Brotherhood was the sign, not the cause, of the revival, but will always be associated with it, for the chief members of the Brotherhood, though not the only participants in the revival, were certainly among the most important, and their formal union not only focussed upon it the attention both of artists and general public, but consolidated its early strength.

Beyond the time of the Brotherhood it is not our purpose to go. The revival of the mid-century has passed into history ; what has followed belongs to our own day, and is in great part the work of living men. It is well that we can end our story of English painting in the days of a revival, the influence of which we know is not yet exhausted. It is too near to us for any final estimate of it ; but this we may safely say, that, including the work of Watts, Madox Brown, Hunt, Rossetti, Millais, and, we may add, Burne Jones, not only has it brought art into closer and more invigorating contact with nature, not only, as in the work of Watts, has it shown the way to a better because less servile study of classical art, reverencing it in the spirit but not in the letter, but it has also shown that, having done great things in portraiture, landscape, genre, and animal painting, this country was capable, not only of repeating those successes, but of achieving also no mean things in historical, sacred, and imaginative art.

Within the first half of the century comes the main part of the work of the great school of line-engravers, best known by their rendering of the oil-paintings and drawings of Turner, and including such names as William Radclyffe, Robert Brandard, J. T. Willmore, and William Miller. In mezzotint, Thomas G. Lupton reproduced some of Turner's works, such as "The Harbours of England," and David Lucas rendered similar service to Constable.

Andrew Geddes and Sir David Wilkie—both Scotchmen—practised etching; and Turner employed it for the plates of his "Liber Studiorum." The widely extended use of the art to-day begins with the work of the Etching Club, founded in 1841; while in 1868 P. G. Hamerton published his "Etching and Etchers," and in *The Portfolio*, a rival to the old *Art Journal*, commenced in 1870 under Hamerton's editorship, large use was made of etchings for the illustrations. The work of such men as Samuel Palmer, Seymour Haden, Whistler, and Legros has raised the status of the art, and brings it down to our own time.

Line-engraving was used for the *Picturesque Tours* and other illustrated annuals of the early part of the century. The founding of *Punch* in 1841 opened the door to a long succession of wood-engravers; and the work of such men as H. K. Browne, Doyle, Leech, Tenniel, and their successors, both for and outside the great weekly, has fine qualities as art, and embodies much wholesome criticism of men and manners. And the name of George Cruikshank ought to be linked with theirs. The commencement of *The Illustrated*

*London News* in 1842 extended the sphere of the artist in black and white, and the beginning of *The Art Union*, afterwards *The Art Journal*, as a monthly magazine devoted to art so increased the general interest in art as to lead to the later monthly and weekly publications, with the same end in view, that perplex us with the offer of more than we can take.

The whole story of modern book-illustration is too long to tell. Line-engraving, mezzotint, etching, wood-engraving, lithography, chromo-lithography, and later all the varieties of photography, photo-engraving, and photo-etching, have so overwhelmed us with illustrations that we can hardly see art for pictures, just as literature is smothered in the multitude of books.

In view of this plethora of picture-making, it is hardly to be wondered at that when the word "artist" is used, it is of the picture maker most of us immediately think. Of the necessity for re-dressing the balance of the arts, and of the attempts that are being made to that end, we shall say something in the next, and concluding, chapter, in which it will be our task briefly to draw the moral of the foregoing sketch of British art.

## CHAPTER XIII

### RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK

PERHAPS not many readers of the foregoing pages will complain that, the story of art having been promised, the story of some only of the principal arts has been told; that nothing has been said

of music and the drama. Not only would this so evidently have been too much to attempt within the limits of space, but we are used to the grouping together of architecture, sculpture, and painting, which appeal to the eye, and to the separate treatment of music, which appeals to the ear, and of the drama, which may nearly be said to unite all the arts, together with literature, in one. But it must not be overlooked that a survey of the art of a nation, to be complete, must take into account all the arts; since, with equal general capacity, different nations may express themselves most readily in different arts. This little book, then, be it confessed, is only a partial introduction to the story of British art.

With respect to the drama, it may be well briefly to note that the religious drama, both in pagan and Christian times, has profoundly influenced and stimulated the other arts, the sculpture and painting on temple and church, and the stained glass of the Middle Ages, being often permanent representations of festive processions and historical and mystic dramas, performed with deep seriousness of purpose and before multitudes of people. The drama, as much as painting, having been at one period of its career mainly the handmaid of the Church, has, like the sister-art, since the sixteenth century passed into the open, to give a wider and fuller interpretation of human life.

Some readers may have taken objection to the slight consideration given in this volume to what are called the minor arts—to dress, furniture, and the thousand and one objects of daily use and

pleasure. That they are a thousand and one—and more—must be the excuse for their omission. In the earlier chapters, dealing with times when life was simple, some reference could fitly be made to the minor arts; but to have followed them in later times through all the vicissitudes and intricacies of increasing luxury and complexity, of importations from every clime, of innumerable vagaries of fashion, and of the revolutionary changes made by the introduction of machinery, would have been to turn this little book into a cataloguer's dry enumeration of facts and dates.

It must suffice to say, therefore, that, as with architecture, sculpture and painting, so with the lesser arts, to make and buy objects of even humble use, of which little skill goes to the making, calling out only what is mechanical in human effort; to let even in small things fashion rule rather than convenience and beauty, is a wrong to art, because it is a wrong to human nature; a wrong none the less certain, nay, more certain, because it is done in the things that are always with us in our daily life. To be careless of fitness and beauty in the simple things of life is to poison art at its source. Under such conditions no truly national art is possible. Individual artists may do great things; but their doings remain individual; their art is a protest against, rather than an expression of, the general life and art. And this wrong has been done increasingly, for the majority of the community, since the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and with injury not confined to the minor arts themselves, but degrading also the higher arts, which are higher, not

by absolute difference, but by difference wrought in imperceptible degrees, so that, if the lower arts are not in healthy life, neither can the higher arts be so.

And this is our present condition, against which Ruskin, Morris, and others have fought and worked. The Pre-Raphaelites also did not confine their demand for individuality in art to the higher arts, but sought to make art pervade the whole of life. And now the craftsmen are banding themselves together and reasserting their old-time right to be artists, and not mere minders and feeders of machines. Probably the revolt can make but little headway for many years yet in a country which cannot, or will not, produce its own food, and is forced, or thinks itself forced, to push machine-made "goods," produced first for sale, and then, if at all, for real use, on all the markets of the world. But it may be that we are on our way to a social, economical, and political *reductio ad absurdum*, the proof of which may lead to changes, evolutionary, if not revolutionary, after which art may have its chance again. And if our story has shown that when the time comes the art-power will not be wanting, the telling and the reading of it may at least hearten us in the struggle to keep art alive through days that are so evil for it.

That the struggle is being bravely maintained, in turn, adds to the interest of our story, proving it to be a tale not finished. We realise also that it is worth the record; that it is not merely the story of Art in the British Isles, but the story of British Art, of something that is our own, in

which, if we have borrowed much, we have also assimilated much, because there was in us the life to be evoked by example and encouragement. And the life shown by the art-instinct to-day, when the trend of things is so much against it—life shown in such ways as the revival of the crafts, the better understanding of the duties of schools of art, attempts to bring back into mutual helpfulness architecture, sculpture, painting and the minor arts, the formation of national and local art-galleries and museums, and the growing demand that a knowledge of the great things done in art shall as much have a place in education as a knowledge of the great things done in literature, gives good grounds for hope to those who believe that art, and therefore human nature, of which art, in the highest sense, is the peculiar manifestation, must achieve in the future things undreamed of in even the most glorious days gone by.

## LIST OF BOOKS

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The following list is intended to be preliminary, not comprehensive. The books named in it will themselves furnish guidance for fuller reading.

Boyd Dawkins	...	<i>Early Man in Britain.</i>
J. Romilly Allen	...	<i>Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
" "	"	<i>Monumental History of the Early British Church.</i>
Fergusson	...	<i>History of Architecture.</i>
Parker	...	<i>Introduction to Gothic Architecture.</i>
Corroyer	...	<i>Gothic Architecture.</i>
F. Bond	...	<i>English Cathedrals Illustrated.</i>
Ruskin	...	<i>The Nature of Gothic.</i>
"	...	<i>The Seven Lamps of Architecture.</i>
Turner	...	<i>Domestic Architecture in the Middle Ages.</i>
Fergusson	...	<i>History of Modern Architecture.</i>
Blomfield	...	<i>History of Renaissance Architecture in England.</i>
W. B. Scott	...	<i>British School of Sculpture.</i>
Lewis Day	...	<i>Windows: A Book about Stained and Painted Glass.</i>

Redgrave	...	...	<i>A Century of Painters of the English School.</i>
Ruskin	...	...	<i>Modern Painters.</i>
"	...	...	<i>Lectures on Architecture and Painting.</i>
Chesneau	...	...	<i>The English School of Painting.</i>
Sizeranne (De la)	...	...	<i>English Contemporary Painting.</i>
Hamerton	...	...	<i>The Graphic Arts.</i>
"	...	...	<i>Etching and Etchers.</i>
Plomer	...	...	<i>A Short History of English Printing.</i>
Traill (Editor)	...	...	<i>Social England (the Chapters on Art).</i>



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